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HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME
IN THE MIDDLE AGES.
VOL. IV.—PART II.

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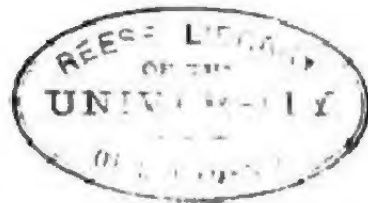
HISTORY
OF
THE CITY OF ROME
IN THE
MIDDLE AGES

BY
FERDINAND GREGOROVIVS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION

BY
ANNIE HAMILTON

VOL. IV.—PART II.



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BOOK EIGHTH.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME IN THE
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CHAPTER I.

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RAINER from Bleda in Tuscany, a monk of the Cluniac order, whom Gregory VII. had made Cardinal of S. Clemente, became the successor of Urban — II. The election took place in the cardinal's own church, and on August 14, 1099, the new Pope was consecrated as Paschalis II.¹ Unusual events were to signalise his tumultuous reign. The schism still endured, and Clement III., who had survived three celebrated popes, his opponents, did not hesitate to attack the fourth. He took up his abode in Albano, under the protection of the Counts of the Campagna. But with the aid of Norman troops Paschalis was soon able to drive him thence.² Wibert escaped to

Paschalis II., Pope, 1099-1118.

¹ His adversaries unjustly accused Paschalis of simony. The accusations are found in the *Excerptum Epistolæ directæ Heinrico Imp. a Guarnerio principe Anthonitano*, in the *Chron.* of Siegbert, A. 1105.

² *Life of Paschalis*, by Petrus Pisanus (Papebroch, *Propyl. Maji*, vi.

Death of
Clement
III., 1100.

Civita Castellana, where he died in the autumn of 1100. His distinguished qualities, as also his fortitude in adversity, compelled recognition even from his enemies; his friends bewailed in him a saint, and schismatic miracles were worked at his grave no less successfully than Catholic miracles at the grave of Gregory VII. or Leo IX.¹

The imperial party continued to put forward anti-popes, even in Rome itself, where they retained S. Peter's. But these idols of a day, Theodore of S. Rufina, and afterwards the Sabine bishop Albert, soon fell from the throne they had usurped.²

c. 6, p. 203) : *expulit eum ab Alba; defectio Albæ exterruit eum ab urbe*. This was Albano near Rome. In the cathedral there is preserved the fragment of an inscription, which records that Paschalis rewarded the town for its fidelity. (Ricey, *Memorie di Albano*, Rome, 1787, p. 198; Giorni, *Storia di Albano*, Rome, 1844, p. 232.) Urban II. rewarded Velletri in the same way by the confirmation of the territory of the city. (Bull. *Rom. VIII. Id. Julii Ind. XII., A. 1089*; in Borgia, *Velletri*, p. 204.)

¹ Documents in the *Reg. Farf.* indicate the era of Clement III. as late as January, but no longer in October 1100. Ord. Vitalis (Duchesne, *Histor. Normannor. Script.*, p. 762) gives the following lines on Wibert, by Cardinal Petrus Leo:—

*Nec tibi Roma locum, nec dat, Wiberte, Ravenna;
In nemine positus, nunc ab utraque vacas.
Qui Sutria vivens male dictus Papa fuisti,
In Castellana mortuus urbe jaces.
Sed quia nomen eras sine re, pro nomine vano
Cerberus inferni jam tibi claustra parat.*

The cardinal had no idea that he would himself become anti-pope. Amadesi, *Chronolax.*, ii. 193. The work, *De miraculis Wiberti P. qui et Clemens* in the *Cod. Udalrici* in Ekkard., n. 173. Paschalis II. later caused Wibert's bones to be thrown into the Tiber in order to put an end to his miracles. *Dodechini App.*, in Pistorius, i.

² *Cod. Vat.*, 1984. The Romans, John Octoline and Cardinal Romanus, first protected Albert in a palace near San Marcello, and

Paschalis owed his rapid success to Norman swords and to the irresistible power of gold, but his strength was dissipated in endless petty wars against petty tyrants. The popes of this age were forced, like all other bishops, to do battle for their temporal dominion against a thousand greedy enemies, and if Paschalis the gentle-natured monk reflected on the part played by the sacred overseer of the Church in the constant struggle for temporal property, he must have sighed for the apostolic times when the bishops possessed nothing on earth beyond the things of heaven.

We shall enumerate neither the various fortresses nor the barons on whom the Pope waged war. In Peter Colonna, however, the most celebrated noble family of mediæval Rome makes its first appearance on the stage of history in the year 1101.¹ The name of the family owes its origin not to Trajan's famous column, which figures in the Colonna coat of arms, but to a castle in the Latin mountains which still towers above the Via Labicana.² This little fortress,

The
Colonna
family.

then betrayed him. One anti-pope was banished to La Cava, the other to Aversa.

¹ *Petrus de Columna Cavae oppidum de jure d. Petri invaserat* (Petrus Pisanus, c. 8, p. 203).

² The fortress is first mentioned in a diploma of Henry III. in 1047. A deed of gift of Peter of Tusculum of December 26, 1066, is signed *Amato vir mag. judex de castello de la Colonia* (Gattiola, *Hist. Cassin.*, i. 235). On March 13, 1074, Gregory VII. ceded to the monastery of S. Paul *medietatem Castellî quod vocatur Columpna* (*Bullar. Cassin.*, ii. 108). Nibby believes Colonna to be Labicum. Pietro Rosa, however, the most accurate authority on the topography of Latium, assures me that Rocca Compatri must be Labicum. Ughelli (t. x. 119) brings the bishops of Labicum from 649 down to

Peter de
Colonna.

only five miles distant from Tusculum, had belonged to the Counts of Tusculum since ancient times, and had given the name of Columpna or Colonna to a branch of the family. Peter was apparently a son of Gregory of Tusculum, the brother of Benedict IX.¹ The ancestor of Martin V. obtained notoriety as a Latin baron, who plundered popes and bishops and practised highway robbery. The founders of patrician houses in the Middle Ages acquired fame and power neither in battle nor on the judicial tribunal, but, living in towers like falcons, like falcons robbed and killed; they also prayed off and on with the monks, whom they loaded with gifts in order that they might not forfeit their chance of Paradise. Peter de Colonna was further owner of Monte Porzio and Zagarolo and strove to extend his possessions far into the fair territory of Latium. Relationship with the last lords of Palestrina, descendants of the Senatrix Stephania, might endow him with a claim over the town; but the rights of the Pope were of older date, and these rights their owner knew how to enforce by arms.²

1111 only, and Georgi (*De Cathedra Episcopali Setina*, p. 18) asserts that the bishopric was only united with Tusculum in 1231.

¹ Coppi proves this satisfactorily (*Mem. Colonn.*, p. 28) on the authority of the document of September 24, 1078 (Gattiula, i. 236), by which *Petrus fil. Dom. Gregorii nobiliss. Romanor. Consulis pie mem.* bestows a church near Monte Porzio on Monte Casino; he shows that Colonna and M. Porzio belonged to the same owner. This is evidently the same Peter from whom Paschalis took Colonna.

² *Dom. Papa Cavas recepit: Columna et Zagarolum oppida juris illius (namely Petri) prudenter sunt capta.* Petr. Pisan., c. 8. Petrini (p. 111) appeals to the deed of 1053 (*Reg. Subl.*, fol. 78), where the Countess Imilia, *habitatric in Palestrina*, bestows estates on Subiaco

Paschalis thus strove for years to subdue the wild nobility. The Corsi, formerly friends, now adversaries of the Church, set him at defiance in Rome. They had ensconced themselves within the ruins on the Capitol, and when Paschalis caused their tower to be demolished, Stephen Corso seized the fortress beside S. Paul's, and hence like a Saracen undertook pillaging expeditions against Rome. Finally driven away, he settled in the Upper Maritima, where he seized the papal towns. In the Middle Ages a Sallust would have daily found his Catiline; for Rome was little else than a dark and ruinous catacomb, where nobles and peoples conspired to overthrow a State, of which the most needy military tribune of antiquity would probably have refused the seigniory.

The defiance of the Corsi was associated with the elevation of a third anti-pope, who had been elected by the obstinate followers of Wibert. The family of the Normanni, headed by another Stephen, the Baruncii and Romani, the S. Eustachio, the Berizo of S. Maria in Aquiro, enticed the Margrave Werner, for the salvation of her dead husband, Donadeus, of the *quond. Joannis qui vocabatur de Benedicto*, and of Domina Hetta (formerly wife of the same Margrave John). He holds Imilia (without any foundation) to have been the sister of John, and makes her the mother of Peter Colonna by a second husband, a fact doubted by Coppi. According to a document of Subiaco, Donadeus belonged to the house of the Prefect Crescentius (A. 1036). With the death of the Margrave John (prior to 1053) the Pactum of 970 (vol. iii. p. 374) became extinct. Peter Colonna certainly laid claim as relative of Imilia to Palestrina, which he then seized. Fables of later date represent the Colonna as coming from Germany to Rome; a manuscript of the *Bibl. Chigi* (N. ii. 31, p. 154) calls the mythical ancestor Stefano; the writer says: *la contessa Emilia donna de Palestrina sello pigliò per marito*.

VOL. IV.

Y

The
Margrave
Werner.

then ruler of Spoleto and Ancona, into their schemes. A Swabian count, formerly captain of Leo IX. at Civita, had captured a fair domain on the Adriatic and was able to bequeath the Pentapolis, now called after him the March of Werner, to his descendants. Henry IV. favoured his fortune; and as his ancestors had founded the power of Tedald, so Henry exalted the family of Werner, in order to gain the support of the Swabian in his struggle with Matilda. The Emperor also invested the son of this, the first, Margrave of Ancona with the imperial fiefs of Spoleto and Camerino, which had formerly been held by the house of the great countess.¹

The anti-
Pope
Maginolf.

Werner came to Rome with German troops in November 1105, summoned by the conspirators, who had elected Maginolf, an arch-priest, as Pope in the Pantheon. Paschalis fled to the island in the Tiber.²

¹ Nicholas II. had excommunicated the already apostate people of Ancona; Damiani interceded for them (Ep. i. vi.). Concerning Werner, Peruzzi, *Storia d'Ancona*, i. 267-275. Fatteschi shows Werner to have been Dux of Spoleto and Margrave of Camerino. *Reg. Farf.*, fol. 1177: *a. IV. H. IV. imperante et Guarnerio Marchione mense jun. Ind. IV.* (should be VII., A. 1114) and fol. 1179, where the Abbot Berold complains to the *Dux et Marchio Guarnerius* of robbers of the convent property. An edict of Werner follows: his seal represents him on horseback, carrying a sword and wearing the Phrygian cap. The seals of the ancient duces of Spoleto represent them for the most part with the banner.

² The *Chronicle of Fossa nova* says (ad A. 1105, Ind. XIII.): *Marchion venit Romam consentientib. quibusd. Romanis, et elegit Adamulphum in Pap. Silvestrum ad S. M. Rotundam infra Octav. S. Martini, sed sine effectu reversus est.* Ekkehard (A. 1106) is wrong, and Siegbert (A. 1105) hardly agrees, although he gives the fragment of a letter of Werner, which contains some good details. Most accurate is *Cod. Vat.* 1084, which is also acquainted with "Maginulf's" election

The trembling idol, Sylvester IV., was installed by force of arms in the Lateran, which was attacked by the papal party under the Prefect Peter, and defended by the imperialists aided by Werner's troops, who were led by Berto, captain of militia. The struggle extended to the Cœlian, to the Septizonium, even to the Circus Maximus.¹ Maginolf, however, had no money, and in the course of a few days found himself deserted: he escaped to Tivoli, where Werner lay encamped, and the unsuccessful margrave, returning home, took him to Osimo.

Paschalis, disquieted but not harassed by these events, was able to return to the Lateran at the end of November 1105. Part of the nobility had gone over to his side, nevertheless his position remained unendurable. If ever a throne were fatal to its occupants, it was the marble chair of Peter, on which sat the popes, with the cross, which was never to become a sceptre, in their hands, and from which, amid time-worn ruins and almost equally venerable churches, they determined to rule a people, prouder and more unruly than their ancestors of the times of Sulla and Marius. The secular history of the Papacy after Gregory VII. consequently presents a strangely con-

in the Pantheon. From Paschalis's letter to the French, from the Lateran on September 26 (*Cod. Udalr.*, n. 239), Jaffé (2nd ed.) shows that Maginulf was elected on November 18, and died on November 19.

¹ *Berto caput et rector Romana milicia*, says Siegbert; this is the Berizo of *Cod. Vat.*, 1984. The *templum romule ante domum judicis Mathilde* (probably the basilica of Constantine) is noticed in this struggle; so, too, *arcum auri* (according to the *Ordo Romanus*, an arch of entrance to the Forum of Nerva); *arcum triumphale* (Constantine's); *sodem solis*—circle majore.

Paschalis
II. leaves
Rome.

The
Council at
Guastalla,
Oct. 1106.

fused and highly tragic picture, in which the furious outbreaks of the populace, the flight and exile of the popes, their triumphant homeward procession, their second tragical falls, and their constant returns are incessantly repeated. Paschalis left the dreadful city, and in order to convene a Council sought the protection of the Countess Matilda. Events in Germany made a settlement of the schism probable; the Emperor had been dethroned by the rebellion of his second son, and Henry V. feigned acquiescence in the papal prohibition of investiture. The Roman legates consequently supported his rebellion, and the Pope even absolved him from the oath, which he had previously taken at Aachen, to remain faithful to his father, and to forswear ever to aspire, like Conrad, to the crown.¹ In January 1106 the Diet of the empire at Mainz had invited Paschalis to Germany, where the division of the Church was to be settled; and the death of the unfortunate Henry IV. seemed to pave the way to a reconciliation. But the firm demeanour of the German envoys at the Council of Guastalla (in October 1106) showed Paschalis that he would never succeed in obtaining a renunciation of the right of investiture from the new German King. No sooner had Henry V. secured the throne than he unhesitatingly asserted the rights of the crown, and the Pope, who would not release the Emperor from the ban, soon reaped, as his merited reward, treat-

¹ *Callidus Papa, Henricum adolescentem filium H. Imp. adversus patrem concitat, et ut Ecclesia Dei auxilietur admonet—Herimannus in narratione restorationis Abbatia S. Martini Tornacensis* (Dachery, *Spicileg.*, xii. n. 83; Pagi, *Critica*, A. 1106, n. 1).

ment similar to that which Henry IV. had experienced at the hands of his insolent son.

The decrees of Guastalla confirmed the prohibition of investiture; the uncanonically elected bishops, the Wibertists, however, provided they became sincerely reconciled to the Church, were indulgently recognised; and the strict Gregorians could not forgive such toleration on the part of Paschalis.¹ At the wish of Henry V. the pending dispute concerning the investiture was to be adjusted at a Christmas Synod at Augsburg; the Pope, however, who was to have attended the Synod, feared treason. He went to France to appeal to the mediation of King Philip and his son Lewis. Negotiations with Henry's envoys, whom the Pope met the following year at Chalons, were unsuccessful; the King insisted on his right of investiture, and in May Paschalis at the Council of Troyes renewed the prohibition against the exercise of the right by lay hands. Dissatisfied with the results of his journey, he at length resolved to return to Italy, and as early as September 1107 was at Fiesole near Florence.

Paschalis II. goes to France.

During his absence the Prefect Peter, the Pierleoni and Frangipani, in conjunction with Walfred his

¹ Parma, which had previously set up two anti-popes, also submitted. In order to weaken the Archbishop of Ravenna, the five bishoprics of the Emilia, *i.e.*, Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, Modena, Bologna, were removed from his jurisdiction. The power of Ravenna fell with Wibert, although Gelasius II. again abrogated the decree of Guastalla in 1119 (Rubeus, *Hist. Rav.*, v. 321). A remarkable document of the year 1130, in which the Archbishop of Ravenna reappears in complete supremacy over the Bishop of Bologna, is to be found in Fantuzzi, iv. 247.

own nephew, had with difficulty maintained a semblance of authority in the city. The Roman nobility were acquainted with but one passion, that of increasing the power of their houses at the Church's expense; the same miserable task, therefore, awaited each pope on his return—the task of leading vassals and mercenaries in battle against the spoilers of the Church. Scarcely had he returned when Paschalis was forced to make war on Stephen Corso in the Tuscan Maritima, where Stephen lay entrenched at Montalto;¹ the Pope achieved nothing, and, as his biographer admits, Rome remained the pit of daily rebellion.

It were a thankless task to accompany Paschalis through the continued misery of the revolts which he encountered. On his departure for Benevento in 1108 he made over the government of the city to the Consuls Pierleone and Leo Frangipani, the command of the troops to Walfred, the custody of the Campagna to Ptolemy of Tusculum. And thus, owing to the stress of the times, the noble families of Rome, who now formed the ruling oligarchy, attained possession of political power. They took advantage of the Pope's absence in Apulia to revolt, the Sabina and Latium renounced their allegiance, and the unprincipled Ptolemy, in league with the Abbot Berald of Farfa and Peter Colonna, hoisted the flag of rebellion in Tusculum. Paschalis now arrived with the Norman lances lent him by Richard

¹ Petrus Pisanus, c. 11. The towns were Ponte Celie and Montalto (near Corneto) in the *Maritima superior*. It is altogether a mistake to look for these towns along the Adriatic coast.

of Aquila, at that time Duke of Gæta; he entered Rome and captured the rebellious fortresses. Even Tivoli, the ancient stronghold of the Wibertists, surrendered after an obstinate resistance, while fear and gold combined to disarm the city of Rome. Paschalis resorted in person to the Capitol, where the Senate of nobles was accustomed to assemble, and demanded that this parliament should proscribe Stephen Corso; and finally the Roman militia forced the Corsi in the ruined Montalto to submit. In August 1109 Paschalis laid siege to Pontia and Affile, ancient Roman colonies in the diocese of Subiaco, and conferred them on the abbey.¹ It is possible that about the same time he may have taken Nympha near Velletri. The dues of such places to the Church consisted in stipulated services, and the obligation of furnishing armed men whenever the Pope commanded is more especially mentioned; for like all other bishops, the popes only drew their troops from places such as were legally liable to military duty.²

¹ *Chron. Subl.* (Murat., xxiv. 939) writes *Effidis*. Concerning Affile (in Pliny and Frontinus) see Nibby's *Analisi*. In the *Cod. Albini*, fol. 138, and *Cenci*, fol. 115, an extract from the *Regesta* of Paschalis refers to it: "*pontie et effides*," 7 *Kal. Sept.* Witnesses: *Raynaldus Senebaldi. Octavianus. Oddo fil. Johis de Oddone* (both Crescentii, descendants of Octavian and Rogata). *Petrus de Rosfrido. Rosfridus de Ceperano. Romanus de Scotto. Hugnizon fil. Petrus de Leone. Cincius Johis de Crescentio.* The *Castra Effide et Pontie* are similarly mentioned in a brief of Innocent IV., Anagni, August 8, 1243 (Elie Berger, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV.*, Paris, 1881, i. 56). They were disputed by the Abbot of Subiaco with the lords of *castrum Genne*.

² Cenci took the *pactum cum Ninfesinis*, which has no date, from

2. ROMAN EXPEDITION OF HENRY V.—HELPLESS POSITION OF PASCHALIS II.—DIFFICULTY OF SOLVING THE QUESTION OF INVESTITURE—THE POPE RESOLVES TO COMPEL THE BISHOPS TO SURRENDER THE CROWNLANDS—NEGOTIATIONS AND TREATIES—ENTRANCE OF HENRY V. INTO THE LEONINA AND HIS AUDACIOUS *COUP D'ÉTAT*.

The interval of peace which Paschalis had gained only lasted until the arrival of the German King. A comet which preceded him—a terrible phenomenon—announced to the pious and superstitious war, pestilence, and ruin. The imperial power, which had suffered such humiliation, now arose in the son of Henry IV. to avenge its defeat and to reduce the Gregorian papacy to subjection. After long negotiations Henry V. had succeeded in obtaining the

the *Regesta* of Paschalis. On account of the feudal relations I note therein: *Hec sunt que faciunt Ninphesini. Fidelitatem scil. B. Petro et Dno. PP. Paschali ejusq. Successorib. Hostem et parlamentum, cum Curia preceperit. Servitium quod assueti fuerunt facere, et placitum et bannum faciant B. Petro et PP.* They give the *Quarta* according to the Roman *Modius*; they pay the *Glandaticum* (money for the pasturage of swine) to S. Martin; to S. Thomas *homos bradones* (cakes of grease and fat). *De carrico uniuscujusq. Sandali denarios VI. Sandalum*, still used for ferry-boat. *Fidantiam* (Tribute) *in unoquoq. anno in m. Madii libr. XXX. de papia bonas.* There follow definitions of the market-dues (*plateaticum*) to be paid by foreigners to the *Curia* (of the papal minister); also of the *Foderum*. The walls of the city were to be demolished; new walls must not be built without permission of the *Curia*. Witnesses: *Petrus Leonis. Petrus de Franco. Leo de dno petro Leonis. Ubicio. Seniorictus. Benincasa piscatore. Constantinus dapifer. Zoffo de caiaze. Gisalso. Romanus de Calvo. Ugizzonius de Johane Tinioso. Paganus.* This document is mistakenly not included in Theiner's *Cod. Dipl.*

promise of the imperial crown from the sorely harassed Pope, unfettered by any condition, save that of reverence towards the Church. Paschalis could not prevent the journey to Rome which had been resolved on at a German Diet. At a Lateran Council on March 7, 1110, however, he renewed the prohibition against investitures. It was on this basis alone that peace could be concluded. He immediately hastened to Monte Casino, and implored the Norman princes to come, if necessary, to his aid against Henry. On his return he even assembled the Roman nobles and by solemn oath made them promise to remain by his side in danger.

The Roman expedition of Henry V. was a splendid exhibition of the power to which Germany could attain, in spite of tedious civil wars ; but for Italy and the Papacy it was a severe humiliation. This formidable army numbered thirty thousand horsemen, vassals from a hundred provinces of German, Slavic, and Romance lands, led by bishops and princes who, with murmurs or willingly, gathered round the King. Even men versed in law and letters accompanied Henry to explain his rights and commemorate his deeds. The cities of Northern Italy, which had attained republican constitutions during the war of investiture, looked with hatred on the foreign troops, who descended the Alps in the autumn of 1110, and for whom they were obliged to provide food, quarters, and gifts. Novara expiated its disobedience in its own ashes, and other fortresses were destroyed with a like ferocity. This severity terrified the Lombards. Their consuls came to the

Henry V.'s
march to
Rome,
1110.

King with tribute. Milan alone sent neither gifts nor envoys. Had party hatred not kept the smaller towns at enmity, these towns might have found the shield of their common liberty in this flourishing city.¹ Among the Italian vassals of the empire there was not one who failed to do homage to Henry during the three weeks that he lay encamped on the field of Roncaglia. He here held the customary Diet, and, like a Xerxes, reviewed his splendid army, filled with contempt towards the cities. The Countess Matilda herself bowed before his power; several princes from Henry's camp visited the illustrious woman, the glory of her age, and all left her filled with admiration. Matilda did not, however, appear in person before the son of her adversary, but merely held negotiations with his envoys from one of her fortresses near Canossa. She took the oath of vassalage, as far as it concerned the enemies of the empire with the exception of the Pope, and the King did not venture to demand that the protectress of the pontiffs should send her vassals to join his army in the expedition to Rome.

What could the Pope expect from a young prince who had inherited the craft of the father whom he had over-reached, and who, endowed with far greater energy, was resolved to prosecute the same struggle for the rights of the crown which the fate of Henry IV. had clearly shown to be the condition necessary to the continued existence of the empire? Henry

¹ *Nobilis urbs sola Mediolanum populosa*

Non servivit ei; nummum neque contulit aris.

—Donizo, ii. 18.

V. approached, as his envoys at Chalons had already threatened, to assert the right of investiture with the sword, and to demolish Hildebrand's audacious structure. The position of Paschalis II. was more difficult than that of Gregory had been, for the Normans were crippled by enervation and fear. Matilda was old, and remained neutral; religious passions, formerly such powerful allies of the hierarchy, had cooled, and Christendom demanded the settlement of the dispute at almost any cost.

Henry wrote to the Romans from Arezzo that, hitherto prevented from doing honour to the capital of his empire, he was now approaching, and he demanded that envoys should be sent to meet him.¹ His ambassadors went to Rome to make arrangements for the coronation, and met Pier Leone, the plenipotentiary of the Pope, in S. Maria in Turri. The coronation was to be the final act of a treaty, but difficulty was experienced in framing this—the first of all concordats. Henry was obliged to insist on the right of investiture which all his predecessors had exercised; the Pope was obliged to take his stand on the decrees of his predecessors, which forbade investiture by lay hands, and to which he had himself given his solemn ratification. Could the King surrender to the Pope the sole right of appointing bishops, when these bishops received principalities as fiefs from the empire? If these powerful bishops and abbots were entirely severed from the

¹ *H. Dei gr. Romanor. Rex Consulib. et Senatui, Populo Romano, majoribus et minoribus gratiam suam cum bona voluntate. Cod. Udalr., n. 257.*

State, and became vassals solely of the Roman Church, would not their power become illimitable, and would they not, as Gregory VII. desired, swallow up the State? The consequences of the royal investiture were, on the other hand, ruinous to the Church; the Church remained the vassal of the crown. But this evil, which was undeniable, might be removed as soon as the bishops renounced the temporal power and all political position.¹

The
question
of investi-
tures.

The question of investiture was, at this time, as difficult as the question of the continued existence of the *Dominium Temporale* of the popes, the last remains of the mediæval body of the Church, has become to-day within a united Italy. In both questions we find the same interconnection of things, moral and political; both consequently, like a Gordian knot, were first cut by the sword. It will ever remain worthy of remark that a pope of the twelfth century advanced, with lofty resolution, a principle, the realisation of which would have invested the Church with a higher moral power, a principle, however, which was too ethereal for a time when the law of might prevailed. Paschalis II. recognised the right of the crown, a right which was as clear as the sun; he admitted that, after it had surrendered such immense revenues to the churches, the empire could not exist without the privilege of investiture. As the young and faithless son of Henry IV. approached Rome with a formidable

¹ The letter of the Archbishop Frederick of Cologne to Otto of Bamberg clearly shows the consequences of the investiture. *Col. Udalr.*, n. 277.

army, leaving ruined cities in his rear, he may have appeared to the trembling Pope like some beast of prey, whose ferocity might be appeased by booty. In his direst need, and in order that he might save her life and her freedom, the Pope threw him the possessions of the Church. He proposed that the bishops should restore all their crown property to the empire, and live henceforward on tithes; that the King should permanently renounce the right of investiture, and should consequently, in exchange, bestow the priceless gift of freedom from the State upon the Church.¹ Had Paschalis II. been able to realise this pure and apostolic idea, he would have proved himself a greater man than Gregory VII., and the true reformer among the popes. The judgment of a virtuous and unworldly monk was forced to recognise that the corruption of the clergy and the slavery of the Church were merely the consequences of her unapostolic secularisation; Paschalis, however, did not show himself a man of so great a mind that we can venture to ascribe his scheme to a bold desire for reform; it was, on the contrary, rather the suggestion of despair.² The twelfth century was

Paschalis' proposal that the clergy should renounce the fiefs of the crown.

¹ The treaty *II. Non. Febr. in atrio B. Petri, in eccl. b. Maria in Turri* (*Cod. Vat.*, 1984) thus defines the royal prerogatives: *civitates, ducatus, marchias, comitatus, moneta, teloneum, mercatum, advocatias regni, jura centurionum et curtes que manifeste regni erant cum pertinentiis suis, militia et castra regni*. In like manner, *Cod. Udalr.*, n. 262, 263; *Chron. Ekkeh.*, A. 1111. The *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, took the *Cartula Conventionis* from the register of Paschalis, and Peter Diaconus repeats them almost word for word. In the same way, Albinus, Cencius, and Cardinal Arragon draw all these instruments from the register.

² Bishop Rosmini ascribes the ideas of Paschalis solely to a magnani-

not ripe for the premature idea of the emancipation of the Church. The sacred institution, which should have been merely the incorporeal kingdom of light, of love, and of virtue, continued to be obscured by earthly vapours, like a misty sun, whose rays, had they pierced in all their purity, would perhaps have worked without effect, or even with destruction, on the savagery of semi-barbarous times. The feudal interconnection of secular and spiritual power weighed for centuries upon society, and not until the sixteenth century did the idea of Paschalis (which in him was probably only due to a naive simplicity) attain a mature and powerful consciousness.

To the clergy, accustomed to power and splendour, his proposal must have appeared one of unequalled renunciation : the prelates were called on to surrender immense estates, cities, taxes, rights of market and coinage, justice, and the authority of margraves. Nevertheless they would not have become poor as the apostles, since each bishopric still possessed its private estate, and even tithes and offerings still remained a lucrative source of wealth.¹ But with the loss of princely power the bishops became

mous enlightenment. *Questo immortale pontefice ha fatto sentire un linguaggio, che nella bocca di qualsiasi papa dell' antichità non si sarebbe potuto trovare nè più santo, nè più elevato.* These opinions do honour to the Christian philosopher ; they have, however, served to place his book, *The Five Wounds of the Church*, on the Index.

¹ *Dimittat ecclesias liberas cum oblationibus et possessionibus, quæ ad regnum manifeste non pertinebant.* The Pope at that time consequently demanded a "free" Church beside the State ; we now say, "a free Church in a free State." The second Pactum is in *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, and *Cod. Udalt.*, 263.

defenceless against the political power; they were robbed of their influence in the world, which only respects the power that gives and takes, and that can inspire fear by magnificence. Every bishop would have refused to renounce the illustrious position of Member of the imperial Parliament, in order to become a free and virtuous but insignificant servant of the Lord, and all would have been able to reproach Paschalis for having acted disinterestedly at the cost of others, when he himself, the Pope, never contemplated the renunciation of the sceptre of the ecclesiastical State. On the contrary, he expressly stipulated beforehand that Henry should restore this State according to the limits of the ancient donations.¹ If worldly splendour were unseemly in bishops, was it not equally unseemly in the Pope? If it were unbecoming in an abbot to mount his war-horse in coat of mail and ride at the head of his vassals, must not the sight of the Holy Father in the field of battle have been still more at variance with the principles of Christianity? The possession of crown fiefs involved the bishops in constant traffic with the world, but what for centuries had been the history of the Roman ecclesiastical State? At the same time, the existence of such a State, even in so miserable a form, was now an essential condition for the spiritual independence of the Pope. The fatal irony which was attached to its principle made the *Dominium Temporale* at the

¹ *Patrimonia et possessiones b. Petri restituet et concedet sicuti a Carolo, Lodovico, Heinrico et aliis imperatoribus factum est, et tenere adiuvabit secundum suum posse. Ibid.*

same time the shield and the Achilles' heel of the Pope, made him simultaneously a king and a martyr, the exiled possessor of an estate. The dust of the little, ever-rebellious clod of Rome hung to the feet of the high priest of Christianity with sufficient weight to prevent him from soaring to too lofty regions, where, as an almost divine being, he would have been removed beyond the ideas of his time, or as a tyrant of the moral world, inaccessible to secular hands, would have withdrawn himself beyond reach of their demands. Paschalis scarcely asked himself the question whether the union of priest and king in his own person was beneficial ; and if a malicious bishop had expressed doubts as to the principles on which the State of Peter was founded, he would have replied with the more reason what Pius IX. replied to the theoretical and practical usurpers of the Temporal Dominion in the present day, merely that the provinces of S. Peter were not fiefs of the empire. When in 1862 one of the most memorable of revolutions overthrew the ancient and decayed State of the Church, it was interesting to reflect that the recognition of the renunciation, which Paschalis so vainly required of the bishops, would have further entailed the suppression of the papal State. And we have just cause for surprise in the fact that, 700 years after Paschalis, this ancient question was discussed with the like fervour by the whole of Europe.¹

¹ Count Cavour unawares turned the arguments of Paschalis II. against Pius IX. "If the Church is once freed from every secular fetter and severed from the State by definite boundaries, the liberty of the sacred chair will no longer have to suffer from all the hindrances

Had Henry V. accepted the proposal of the Pope he would immediately have doubled the wealth of the crown ; an avaricious monarch would have hastily stretched forth his hand, a more prudent one would have hesitated. The renunciation of the right of investiture involved the loss of all royal influence on the Church, the greatest power of the world at that time. The estates annexed would necessarily have been bestowed as fiefs on others, and would have contributed to increase the power of hereditary nobles ; the cities, which were only loosely allied with the bishoprics, would have acquired complete independence. But above all, could Henry believe that bishops and princes would have acquiesced in the proposal of the Pope ? Could he believe that it was possible to confiscate so many estates, which a thousand vassals held as fiefs from the crown, without causing an inevitable revolution of the relations of property ?

Henry sincerely longed for peace with the Church ; he accepted the treaty ; but did not reckon on the possibility of its execution.

Two treaties were drawn up : the King's renuncia-
tion of the investiture ; the clergy's renunciation by
papal decree of the estates of the crown. On the
exchange of the documents Henry was to receive
the crown. The scrupulous precautions which were
with which it is oppressed by the concordats and the prerogatives of
the civil power, and which alone have hitherto rendered necessary the
temporal possessions of the Roman See. We shall inscribe the
principle of mutual independence of the Church and the State in the
fundamental statute of the Italian kingdom." Speech of March 25,
1861.

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introduced into the treaties cause King and Pope to appear like two enemies holding negotiations, each of whom sees in the other only a traitor or an assassin. Is it not with justice that we speak of an age as barbarous when the secular head of the West was obliged to swear by treaty that he would neither treacherously seize the high priest of Christendom, nor mutilate or put him to death?¹ The envoys hastened to Sutri, whither the King had advanced. He accepted the deeds, though only on condition that all bishops and princes of the empire would assent to the renunciation, and the chronicler, who informs us of the circumstances, remarks that this was deemed impossible.² On February 9, Henry and his nobles, the dukes and counts of Bavaria, Saxony, and Carinthia, his chancellor Albert, his nephew Frederick of Swabia, the Bishop of Speyer guaranteed to the Pope by oath his personal safety and the fulfilment of the treaty, if the Pope on his side would execute the treaty the following Sunday. The army immediately set forth for Rome, and on Saturday, February 11, encamped on Monte Mario.

Henry V.
before
Rome,
Feb. 1111.

Henry V. stood before the Leonine city and that

¹ *Non erit in facto aut consilio, ut dom. P. perdat papatum romanum vel vitam, vel membra, vel capiatnr mala captione*—customary formula in treaties with princes, cities, vassals. The Pope's sureties were his nephew Walfred and the Pierleoni.

² *Præbuit rex assensum, sed eo pacto, quatinus hæc transmutatio firma et autentica ratione, consilioque vel concordia totius ecclesie ac regni principum assensu stabiliretur; quod etiam vix aut nullo modo fieri posse credebatur.* Ekkehard, *Quod tamen nullo modo posse fieri sciebat*, said Henry of the Pope in a letter in *Cod. Udalr.*, n. 261; *Dodechini Append.*, p. 668.

fortress of S. Angelo in which the author of this terrible war had been besieged by his father twenty-seven years before; the sorrowful shade of Henry IV. must have haunted his son and have summoned him to become his avenger. The Emperor's corpse was still unburied; it had lain for more than five years in an unconsecrated chapel of the cathedral of Speyer, and Paschalis, with Roman harshness, had refused the request to accord it Christian burial. We may imagine the sensations of the haughty German knights at the sight of Rome, the feelings of the Romans, over whom lay the cloud of approaching ruin, and the thoughts of the Pope, who knew himself to be within the toils of a perjured enemy, while his envoys, as erst those of Gregory VII., scoured Campania in search of a new Guiscard. The morrow might witness either a great work of peace or a frightful crash.

Ambassadors from the Romans came to Henry's camp, and requested him to affirm the laws of Rome; the Roman King complied, but contemptuously pronounced his assent in the German language, and the offended nobles returned to the city. The legates of the Pope appeared; hostages were exchanged, and Henry again swore safety to the Pope and the preservation of the State of the Church.

The coronation was to take place the following day—February 12. The corporations of Rome, the colleges of judges, the Scholæ of the papal court, the militia with their insignia, dragons, wolves, lions, and eagles borne on the shafts of lances, and the populace, carrying flowers and palm-branches,

Entry of
Henry V.
for his
coronation,
Feb. 12,
1112.

escorted the King from Monte Mario. The son of Henry IV., accompanied by his magnificent retinue, advanced on horseback to the Leonina amid the sincere or hypocritical shouts of thousands: "S. Peter has chosen Henry as King." According to traditional usage, he swore, first at a little bridge, and again at the gate, to observe the laws of Rome; he listened to the hymn of the Jews with a contemptuous smile, to the applause of the schola of the Greeks with condescension. Choirs of monks and nuns, bearing lighted tapers, and processions of the clergy received him in the Leonina with the same shout: "*Heinricum Regem Sanctus Petrus elegit*," and the magnificent train slowly advanced to the steps of S. Peter's. No emperor designate was ever awaited with greater suspense than the son of Henry IV.; the solemn ceremonial of the reception, the homage, the adoption by the Pope, could but thinly veil the deep misgiving, and the prudent Henry declined to enter S. Peter's until his soldiers occupied the basilica.¹

Henry V.'s
conf. d'état
in S.
Peter's.

King and Pope had taken their places on the porphyry Rota in the solemn cathedral. Here the great work of peace was to be enacted; the treaties were to be sworn to and exchanged. The pactum of the King and that of the Pope were read aloud; the murmurs of bishops and princes, however, accompanied the papal document, which announced that the political position of the clergy was uncanonical, that it was unlawful for priests to serve in the

¹ *Deliberata est itaque ei ecclesia, et omnes munitiones circumquaque sita: Petr. Pisan., c. 14.* S. Peter's was fortified; S. Angelo remained garrisoned by papal troops.

army, since murder and robbery were inseparable from such service; that the servants of the altar should not at the same time be servants of the court: but that as soon as they received estates as fiefs from the crown they must be courtiers. Hence had originated the custom that bishops already elected only received consecration on obtaining the royal investiture; a custom which had been prohibited by the decrees of several councils. He, Paschalis, under punishment of excommunication, commanded the bishops to restore all fiefs of the crown to the Emperor Henry for all time, and as many fiefs as had come into possession of the churches since the time of Charles the Great.¹

A storm of indignation broke forth. Were the bishops to submit to the simple decree of a Pope and recognise him as the absolute ruler of the Church? The worldly ambition of priests, who, from being the messengers of peace to the people, had become their barons, revolted against an evangelical principle, and had Christ Himself appeared in the assembly to support His representative with His own command, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," His voice would have been drowned by angry cries. Can we believe that Paschalis cherished the conviction that princes and bishops would accept his decree? It is impossible. He could only hope to come to a temporary adjustment with the Emperor, all else would have become the subject of negotiations and synods. King and Pope, seated on

¹ Sigbert, A. 1111. *Dofetchini Append.*, p. 668. *Cod. Udalr.*, n. 263; *Privilegium Paschalis Papa. Et divine legis*, &c.

the porphyry rota, each with his pactum in his hand, in the possibility of the execution of which neither believed, appear in this celebrated scene like two actors in a great drama, of whom one plays his part with violent cunning, the other with the resignation of despair. But at Paschalis's side stood a premature reform, while Henry obviously cherished the design of the *coup d'état* which he afterwards accomplished, and which will ever remain one of the most violent and audacious strokes of the kind recorded in history.

The concession was so great that Henry saw within it merely a snare of the Pope to obtain possession of his renunciation, and then to leave him to face the opposition of the princes and bishops. While the King again explained in S. Peter's that the project of robbing the churches of their property did not originate with him, he made the Pope alone responsible, and at Sutri he had already made the execution of his treaty dependent on the consent of all the princes of the empire. As the Pope now desired the renunciation of the investiture, the King retired for consultation with the bishops. His nobles blustered. They asserted that the Pope's proposition was heresy and sacrilege and decisively refused to recognise the treaty.¹ Evening approached.

¹ *Lectis publice privilegiis, tumultuantibus in infinitum principibus præ ecclesiarum spoliatione ac per hoc beneficiorum suorum ablatione.* Ekkehard; and the lively account in the *Chronicle of Reichersberg*, p. 239 (in Ludewig, t. ii.), which, like Sigbert, Otto of Freising, *Chron.*, vii. 14, *Ep. Heinrichi*, *Cod. Udalr.*, 262, and Dodechinus, mentions only the bishops: *universis in faciens ejus resistantibus, et decreto suo palam heresim inclamantibus, scil. episcopis, abbatibus, tam suis quam nostris et omnibus ecclesiæ filiis.*

Paschalis demanded that the tedious conference should be ended; the bishops protested that the treaty was impracticable; the King desired the coronation, the Pope refused it. A knight, burning with indignation, sprang forward: "Where is the necessity," he cried, "for so much talk! My master desires to be crowned without delay like Lewis and Charles!" Some terrified cardinals proposed to crown the King, and to delay the conclusion of the concordat until the morrow. The prelates would no more hear of treaties. Some bishops, more especially Burchard of Münster and the Chancellor Albert, fanned the rising anger of the young King and urged him to violate his oath and seize the person of the Pope. Armed men surrounded the Pope and the high altar. Scarcely had he ended mass, when he was forced to take a seat in the tribune, watched by knights with drawn swords. A tumult arose, Norbert, Henry's chaplain, threw himself weeping before the Pope, and Conrad of Salzburg loudly called to the King that his act was wicked sacrilege. The brave bishop was menaced by drawn swords; the quarrels and shrieks of clergy and nobles, the clang of arms, cries for aid, the flight and maltreatment of terrified priests presented a scene of wildest confusion in the already dark cathedral. Meanwhile the Pope and the cardinals, crowded together, trembled under the halberds of the mercenaries, while throngs of people, anxious for revenge, filled S. Peter's, and on the other side of the Tiber the entire city was already in violent commotion.

The Pope
is taken
prisoner.

As night descended Paschalis and his court were removed to a building beside S. Peter's, and were confided to the custody of Udalrich, Patriarch of Aquileia. The imprisonment of the Pope broke down all discipline, priests and laity were robbed without distinction and were cut down by the sword; the golden vessels, the ornaments of the Church, were carried off. All who could escape, fled shrieking to the city.

3. THE ROMANS RISE TO SET PASCHALIS AT LIBERTY—SURPRISE AND BATTLE IN THE LEONINA—HENRY V. WITHDRAWS WITH HIS PRISONERS—HE ENCAMPS NEAR TIVOLI—FORCES THE POPE TO ACCORD HIM THE PRIVILEGE OF THE INVESTITURE—IMPERIAL CORONATION—HENRY V. LEAVES ROME—TERRIBLE AWAKENING OF PASCHALIS II. IN THE LATERAN.

Rome
rises in
revolt.

Two cardinal-bishops, John of Tusculum and Leo of Ostia (the historian of Monte Casino), escaped in disguise across the bridge of S. Angelo. They assembled the people. Alarm-bells were rung from every tower; Rome was filled with the wildest excitement. Such Germans as unsuspectingly had entered the city were cut down. This was the scene into which the festival of a Roman coronation was again transformed. Since a Byzantine governor had dragged Pope Martin into exile, the Papacy had suffered no such violence from the supreme power in the State. The Romans now forgot their enmity to the popes; they united in a common feeling of hatred against the foreign imperial power.

With the break of day they burst into the Leonina to set the Pope at liberty. Haughty contempt had rendered the King careless, and hence the onslaught almost cost him both life and empire. Still undressed and with naked feet he sprang on horseback in the atrium of the basilica, leaped down the marble steps and plunged into the thick of the fray; five Romans sank beneath his lance, but he himself fell wounded from the saddle. The Viscount Otto of Milan placed at his disposal his horse, and indeed his life, for the magnanimous rescuer was dragged away and torn to pieces in the city. The fury of the Romans was unbounded; the attack became a battle; Henry's forces, driven from the portico, seemed ready to succumb.¹ The valour of the Romans, which had never before shone so conspicuous, deserved to be rewarded by deliverance from the empire; their desire for plunder, however, snatched the victory out of their hands sooner than the exertions of the Germans would have done. They were finally driven back across the bridge with great slaughter, or were thrown into the river, and their flight was only covered by sorties from S. Angelo.

The battle
in the
Leonina.

The imperialist losses were great and showed that a rebellious city was formidable even to disciplined armies; Henry consequently left the Leonina at

¹ *Habent enim aliquid simile cum nivibus suis; nam statim ut tacti calore fuerint, in sudorem conversi deficiunt, et quasi a sole solvantur*, says Peter Diacon., iv. c. 39, quite untruthfully, of the German character. On the contrary, the Germans credit themselves with the possession of manly endurance.

night. He remained two days longer in the camp under arms, while the Romans, exhausted and thirsting for revenge, assembled anew. The cardinal of Tusculum, now vicar of the Pope, besought them again to take up arms. "Romans, your freedom, your lives, your honour, and the defence of your Church are at stake. The Holy Father, the cardinals, your brothers and sons languish in the chains of the faithless enemy: a thousand noble citizens lie stretched in death under the portico; the basilica of the apostles, the honoured cathedral of Christendom, is defiled with corpses and blood; the dishonoured Church lies weeping at your feet, and with upraised arms entreats mercy and protection from the Roman people who alone can save it." The whole city swore to fight to the death.¹

Departure
of Henry
V. with the
captive
Curia from
Rome,
Feb. 16,
1112.

In the night of February 15 to 16, however, Henry raised his tents and, like a defeated man, withdrew to the Sabina. While he carried the Pope and sixteen cardinals away with him as prisoners, his soldiers dragged Roman consuls and priests tied with ropes and, themselves seated on horseback, goaded their captives along the muddy roads with the shafts of their lances—a spectacle which may well have recalled Vandal times.² The army

¹ Petrus Diacon., c. 39. Mansi, xxi. 59. Letter of Cardinal John (*agens vicem Domini Paschalis Pape vincti Jesu Christi*) to Richard, Bishop of Albano: *post hac omnes unanimiter contra eum juraverunt, uno animo, una voluntate pugnare.*

² *Chronicle of Reichersberg*: *clerici tenere educati funibus traherantur ab equitibus, quos illi, ut poterant, sequebantur per plateas, into profundo ac tenaci vix emergentes.* Petr. Diacon. says, with exaggeration, that the Pope was carried away in chains.

crossed the Tiber at Fiano, and finally encamped beside the Lucanian bridge below Tivoli. It was Henry's intention to unite with the Tusculan counts to cut off the Norman relief-party, which Cardinal John had urgently summoned. He left the Pope with some cardinals in the fortress of Trebicum, the remaining prisoners in close custody at Corcodilum.¹

Thus the son of Henry IV. inflicted on the Church, which had formerly supported him in his impious rebellion, an outrage such as the fourth Henry had never committed. In whatever light we may view Henry V.'s bold *coup d'état*, the nemesis which was therein accomplished was just. The excess at Canossa found its reverse in Rome. The heaviest anathema should have been dealt upon the King, who, like a Shalmaneser, had carried the representative of Christ and the Roman Church itself captive; but Paschalis sighed and held his peace. We hear of the disturbance which agitated the ecclesiastical world, but not of the commotion which shook the political world when it received the news of the Pope's imprisonment. The world, however, stirred itself as little to effect his release as it did 700 years later when Napoleon emulated the example of Henry V. The Countess Matilda must have felt the event as her heaviest defeat; but she did not

¹ Petr. Diacon. and *Cod. Vat.*, 1984; after the register of Paschalis: *apud castellum Trebicum, apud Corcodilum*; Corcollo or Corcarulum (Querquetula, Corcotula) in Latium. Nibby, *Analisi*. Trebicum is Tribuco, where a church stood dedicated to S. Getulius. See E. Stevenson, *La Basil. di S. Sinforosa sulla via Tiburtina*, in vol. I. of the *Studi e Docum. di Storia e Diritto*, Rome, 1880, p. 107.

move. Messenger after messenger was despatched to Apulia, but no Guiscard appeared. Robert of Capua alone sent 300 cavalry into Roman territory, but finding Latium imperialist and Henry's army between themselves and Rome, they turned back at Ferentino. The sudden death of Roger and of his brother Boemund threw the Norman states into confusion, a revolt of the Lombard people and Henry's arrival seemed imminent, and the princes consequently found themselves compelled to send ambassadors in haste to do homage to the King.¹

Harsh imprisonment endured by the Pope and the cardinals.

During sixty-one days Henry held cardinals and Pope in strictest imprisonment, first in the above-named fortress, then in his camp. At the same time, he daily menaced the city, and by hunger, by laying waste the fields, and by maltreating the prisoners, he tried to bend every one to his will. The Romans, however, were now proof even against gold. They would open their gates only on condition that the prisoners were set at liberty, and Henry in return demanded his coronation from the Pope, and the candid recognition of the right of the crown to the investiture. The Pope hesitated, and Henry threatened to put all the prisoners to death unless he yielded. The chief men of the King's party, the prisoners, the Romans from the city, the afflicted

¹ Peter Diacon. Ord. Vitalis (x. 762) invents the fiction that 2000 Normans came to the aid of the Romans and expelled Henry. The Norman princes were Robert of Capua (1106-1120), successor of his brother Richard II.; William of Apulia, son of Roger, who had died at Salerno in February 1111. In Sicily the great Count Roger, brother of Guiscard, had died in 1101, and had been succeeded by Roger II.

cardinals threw themselves at the feet of the Pope and implored him, in view of the universal misery, in face of the oppressed city and the deserted Church, to avert the threatened schism. It is interesting to picture Gregory VII. in place of Paschalis II., and to ask ourselves, whether the former heroic Pope, who replied to the supplications of his kneeling petitioners in S. Angelo by a tranquil "No!" would have remained unmoved in the present case. "Well," cried the unfortunate Paschalis with a sigh, "for the sake of the deliverance of the Church, I am compelled to yield to measures to which my consent would not otherwise have been extorted at the cost of life."¹ Fresh treaties were drawn up. But Count Albert of Blandrate would not hear of any written condition being attached to the fulfilment of the oath on the side of the Pope, and Paschalis, turning to the King with reproachful gentleness or with a bitter smile, said: "I tender this oath, in order that you may fulfil yours." The German camp was pitched on the further side of the Anio on the "Field of the Seven Brothers," the Roman stood on the side of the Ponte Mammolo nearest the city.² Here sixteen cardinals swore in the Pope's name to

The Pope yields.

¹ *En cogor—pro Eccl. pace ac liberatione id perpeti, quod ne paterer, vitam quoque cum sanguine profundere paratus eram.*

² *In agro juxta pontem Mammeum, Cod. Vat., 1984.* This bridge was called *pons Mammi* as early as 1030 (Nibby, *Analisi*); whether from Mammea, mother of Alexander Severus, is uncertain. Here is the boundary between Latium and the Sabina. The field *Septem Fratrum* must be the present *Castell' Arsione*, nine miles from Rome, where the church of S. Sinforosa (the mother of seven martyrs in the time of Hadrian) stood. Eschinardi, *Agro Romano*, p. 236; Viola, *Tivoli*, ii. 125; De Rossi, *Bull. d. Arch. crist.*, 1878, p. 75 f.

forget the past, promised never to excommunicate the King, promised to crown him Emperor, to support him in the empire and patriciate, and finally not to dispute his right to the investiture. Fourteen of his nobles swore on Henry's side to escort the Pope, all prisoners and hostages to Trastevere at a given time; to refrain from injuring the Pope's adherents, to give security to the city of Rome, Trastevere, and the island of the Tiber, and to restore her property to the Church.¹

The King insisted that the privilegium of the investiture should be executed before he entered the city. The deed was hurriedly drawn up by a notary brought from Rome. The following day the army departed, and since the Milvian bridge was now destroyed, the troops crossed the Tiber not far from the mouth of the Anio, and encamped on the Flaminian Way. Here the memorable deed was executed and was signed by the unfortunate Pope with heavy sighs.

The Pope confirms the right of investiture to the Emperor.

"It is determined by God's decree, that thy realm should be especially allied with the Church, and thy predecessors have acquired the crown of the Roman city and the empire by power and wisdom. To this dignity of crown and empire, God's majesty, through our priestly office, our most beloved son Henry, has also exalted thy person. The rights of

¹ *Actum 3 Idus Aprilis 3 feria post Octava Pasche Ind. IV.* Both formulæ, from the Register of Paschalis, are to be found in *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, in Cencius. *Mon. Germ. Leges*, li. 71. Among the sureties for the King is also *Guarnerius comes*. *Et regnum et Imperium officii sui auxilio tenere bona fide adjuvabit.* Petr. Diacon., c. 40, adds *patriciatum*.

the empire, which our predecessors accorded to thy predecessors the Catholic emperors, we therefore accord to thy highness and confirm them through the present privilegium as follows; Thou shalt impart the investiture with ring and staff to the bishops and abbots of thy empire, who shall be elected without force and simony; after their canonical installation they shall receive consecration from the bishop whose duty it is to give it. But whoever shall be elected by the clergy and people without thy consent shall not obtain consecration from any one until he has received the investiture from thee. Bishops and archbishops shall be permitted canonically to consecrate bishops and abbots who have received investiture from thee. For thy predecessors have endowed the churches of the empire with so many benefices of their royal rights, that it is necessary to secure the empire itself through the assistance of the bishops and abbots, and to adjust, by the royal majesty, disputes among the people concerning elections. Thy prudence and thy power must therefore provide that, under the divine protection, the greatness of the Roman Church and the welfare of all churches may be preserved by royal endowment and favour. Shall any spiritual or secular power or person, however, dare to despise or subvert this our privilegium, he shall be entangled within the chains of the anathema and be deprived of all honours. May the divine mercy protect all who respect it, and grant thy majesty a happy empire."¹

¹ "*Regnum vestrum s. Ecclesiæ singulariter coherere, dispositio divina constituit.*"—*Cod. Udalr.*, n. 265; *Mon. Germ. Leges*,

Henry V.
dismisses
the Pope.

When Henry held in his hands a bull which overthrew all the prohibitions against investiture pronounced by Gregory VII. and his successors, his victory must have appeared to him well nigh incredible; he immediately dismissed the Pope, who gave him the benediction, and a witty German chronicler was able to compare the vigorous prince to the patriarch Jacob, who would not let the angel with whom he wrestled go until he had received his blessing.¹ On April 13, Henry again made his entry into the Leonina, but the hurried coronation was devoid of all signs of joy. All the gates of Rome remained barred, so that the Romans as a body took no share in the transaction. Their deputies, however, were present, and Henry V., like his grandfather, was also clad with the insignia of the patriciate.² The Emperor compelled the Pope to take back the privilege from his hand, and then publicly restore it, as evidence that the transaction was not compulsory but a voluntary act. The clergy were deeply wounded by the insult. The Pope, nevertheless, sincerely desired to make peace; he broke the host for himself and Henry, and while both partook, he said in a tone of inward conviction,

Henry V.
is crowned
by the
Pope in
S. Peter's,
April 13,
1111.

ii. 72. Otto of Freising says that the Privilegium was *extortum per vim*.

¹ *In exempl. patriarchæ Jacob dicentis ad angelum: non dimittam te nisi benedixeris mihi*; Ekkehard. The comparison seems to have been taken from the lost history of David Scottus, as we gather from William of Malmesbury, *de Gestis Reg. Anglor.*, v. 166, who used David's accounts. Henry now extorted permission to give his father Christian burial.

² *Romani patricii occurrerunt cum aureo circulo, quem imposuerunt imperatori in capite*. William of Malmesbury, v. 167.

"May he, who attempts to violate this treaty, be thus severed from the kingdom of God."

Henry V. was the first of all Roman emperors who received the crown in Rome, without having set foot in the city itself. From behind their walls the Romans accompanied the coronation with vindictive curses ; they might liken Henry to a thief, who had forced his way into S. Peter's, had planted his sword at the Pope's breast, and had decamped bearing with him the crown which he had obtained by force. Filled with distrust, no sooner was he crowned than he took hostages, folded his tents and hastened to Tuscany, along the same road by which his father and grandfather had previously withdrawn. He turned his back on the city which he had subdued but not conquered, on the dishonoured and dismayed clergy, and bore in his hands the spoils of his robbery, the papal parchment—the ratification of the right of investiture. The audacity of his *coup d'état* stands forth conspicuous against the dark background of his father's history ; it does not, however, clear him from perjury. He inverted the parts of Henry IV. and Gregory VII. ; the son of the monarch who had cast himself faint-hearted in the dust before a priest, grasped the Pope with his mailed hand, forced him to bend to his royal majesty and in a moment attained what Henry IV. in sixty battles had not been able to achieve. Accidental though his despotic act appears, it was nevertheless a logical consequence of historic causes ; but success of such sudden nature could not be lasting, and the humiliation which Paschalis

Henry V.
leaves
Rome
victorious.

suffered was not, like the humiliation of Henry IV., of a moral character.

Pitiable
position of
Paschalis
II.

The wretched and bewildered Pope was greeted on his return to the city by the fanatical rejoicing of the people; the nimbus of martyrdom for the national cause encompassed his head. In like manner the Romans received their Pope 700 years later on his return from imprisonment under a foreign conqueror. The throng in the streets was everywhere so great that Paschalis with difficulty reached the Lateran by the evening.¹ A deceptive show of reconciliation on the part of the Romans towards papal rule may have comforted the unfortunate Pope;² but on recovering from his stupefaction, he read, in the dismayed or gloomy countenances of those who surrounded him, the formidable struggle which he had now to encounter in the Church itself.

¹ The date *Actum Id. Aprilis 5 feria post octavas Pasche, Ind. IV. Hac sicut passi sumus, et oculis nostris vidimus, et auribus nostris audivimus, mera veritate conscripsimus.* Thus from the Register of Paschalis in *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, and afterwards in *Card. Aragon.*, 363.

² Peter Pisan. exaggerates: *discedente — Heinrico Romam pax rediit — viguit autem pax annis plus minus novem, posteris vix credenda, quam profecto vidi tantam, quantam et timidus bubulcus exoptat, et audax perhorrescit latro, ut quisque locus depositum tueretur.*

4. THE BISHOPS REVOLT AGAINST PASCHALIS—A COUNCIL IN THE LATERAN ANNULS THE PRIVILEGIUM—THE LEGATES EXCOMMUNICATE THE EMPEROR—ALEXIOUS COMNENUS AND THE ROMANS—INVESTITURE OF WILLIAM, DUKE OF THE NORMANS—DEATH OF THE COUNTESS MATILDA—HER DONATION.

A storm of indignation arose among the Gregorian party. It beheld the great work which Gregory had achieved amid so many struggles overthrown by the weakness of a Pope. Those cardinals who had not shared Paschalis's imprisonment reviled him for not having chosen a martyr's death in preference to submission to the Emperor's command; they denounced his conduct, which, however, had only reference to the province of ecclesiastical discipline, as rank heresy; they desired the breach of the treaty. The Pope saw himself in a position of tragic discord; zealots pointed at him as a traitor to the Lord, and the unfortunate man in despair hid himself in the solitude of Terracina, and finally withdrew to the island of Ponza.

The Gregorians rise against Paschalis.

The Church found itself in the same position towards Paschalis as a modern state would find itself towards the monarch who had violated the constitution; but seldom has a people fought with such energy and with such constitutional means against its ruler's breach of the constitution as the Church and its parliament fought at the present crisis. John of Tusculum and Leo of Ostia assembled a Synod in Rome, where the decrees of Urban and Gregory were revived and the privilegium of Henry

V. was pronounced null. Bruno, Bishop of Segni, at the time also Abbot of Monte Casino, vehemently assented to this decision.¹ Paschalis was asked to revoke the privilegium and to excommunicate the Emperor; foreign bishops raised their voices in indignation. John of Lyons convoked a Gallican Council; the papal legates assembled synods, and so great was the irritation that thoughts were even entertained of deposing the Pope. A schism threatened to break forth, for Paschalis also had defenders, not only in those cardinals who had supported his course of action, but among all the adherents of the Emperor, and finally among such bishops as, although orthodox, were of moderate views, and at whose head stood the celebrated Ivo of Chartres.² Paschalis, weak and timid, was inwardly uncertain; he wrote soothing letters to the zealous bishops, censured the attacks of the fanatical cardinals against the supreme head of the Church, and penitently acknowledged that he sought for means to undo the past.

Lateran
Council,
March
1112.

He assembled a Council in the Lateran on March 18, 1112; he described what he had suffered and how he had been driven to his compact; he pronounced the privilegium an unjust transaction, but

¹ Bruno's violent letter to Paschalis, in Petrus Diacon., c. 42, and Baronius, *ad A.* 1111, n. 30. Here also is given his letter to the Bishop of Portus. Paschalis compelled him to renounce the dignity of abbot. Bruno died in 1123 in Segni, where he is buried in the cathedral.

² The gentle Ivo defended the Pope against John of Lyons: *potius pudenda patris nostri nudabitis, deridenda exponetis, quam post dorsum ea velando benedictionem paternam nobis acquiratis. . . . Sic Petrus trinam negationem trina confessione purgavit, et Apostolicus mansit.* *Cod. Udulr.*, n. 281.

explained that he must leave the mode of reforming it to the Council, since he himself would never excommunicate the Emperor, or annoy him on account of the investiture. In the final sitting he even purged himself from the charge of heresy by a solemn profession of faith, and by the recognition of the decrees of his predecessor, whereupon, the Pope sitting silent, the Synod unanimously pronounced the privilegium null and void as uncanonical.¹

The history of Henry V. and Paschalis II. furnishes one of the most striking examples of the facility with which in political life treaties are made and broken, even although provided with all the seals of religion. It is only the preponderance of power that can uphold a treaty prejudicial to one or other side, and a reciprocal advantage will ever prove the strongest cement. A severe judgment will ask which of the Pope's two transactions was the more blameworthy; the first, when from motives of fear or compassion he allowed himself to be forced into an uncanonical treaty, or the second, where fear and remorse impelled him to break the treaty. If, instead of committing the latter act, Paschalis had abdicated, he would have shown himself a lesser Pope and a greater man. But since he remained Pope, he followed the more decorous but more

¹ Gerhard of Angoulême, who drew up the last clause, pronounced the privilegium to be a *privilegium*. The Acts in Mansi, xxi. 50. *Florentii Wigorn. Hist.* (*Mon. Germ.*, vii. 566). Falco says without shuffling: *P. Paschalis faciens Romæ Synodum fregit pactum, quod fecerat cum H. Rege.*

dangerous path ; he left the decision to the Council, to whose authority he subjected the Papacy. We can no longer read his heart to see in what proportion Christian humility, shame and repentance, human weakness and anger were intermingled. Paschalis, however, long withstood the provocations of fanaticism, to which oaths are not sacred. His demeanour, free from hatred towards the perjured Henry, both during and after his imprisonment, gives him claim to the rare title of a true priest, and we venture to think that his attitude was due to Christian conviction and not alone to fear. The decrees of the Council were sent to the Emperor with the invitation to renounce the investiture. Henry V. declined, and Paschalis long remained in friendly correspondence with him.¹

It annuls
the
privilegium
of the
investiture.

That which he hesitated to do himself was done by his nuncio. The legates *a latere*, whom the popes sent into all the provinces of the Church as their *alter ego*, had acquired, after the days of Nicholas II. and Gregory VII., a degree of power hitherto unheard of. Feared by all, by princes as well as bishops and communities, they became, according to the candid avowal of S. Bernard, a scourge of the

¹ On May 3 he laments that Civita Castellana, Corcollo, Montalto, Montacuto, and Narni refuse obedience, and he hopes for the restoration of Perugia, Gubbio, Tuder, Orvieto, Bagnorea, Castellum Felicitatis, Spoleto, and Fermo (*Cod. Udalr.*, n. 266). On October 26, 1111, he complains of his persecutors : *intestinis bellis viscera nostra collacerant, et multo faciem nostram rubore perfundunt*. He censures Henry's violence against the churches, and the tyrannical treatment of the hostages. The letter affords us a glance into the mental struggle of the Pope. *Cod. Udalr.*, n. 271.

provinces, whose gold they extorted like the proconsuls of ancient Rome; they aided the popes, however, to subjugate royal courts and provincial councils. Their office became the school of the subtlest diplomatic art, and they themselves were the true statesmen of the period. Conon of Præneste had barely received in Jerusalem the news of the occurrences in Rome when he—a papal legate—ventured to excommunicate the Emperor. The Archbishop Guido of Vienne, Henry's vassal, assembled a Council in October 1112, pronounced investiture by lay hand heretical, hurled the anathema against the Emperor as a second Judas, and, under the threat of refusing him obedience, required from Paschalis the ratification of his decree.¹ The clergy's hatred of Henry, a hatred shared by many Romans, now encouraged the Greek Emperor to make the attempt to revive antiquated claims. Alexius Comnenus, a fortunate and astute monarch, saw his empire consolidated by the Crusades, which, by founding the kingdom of Jerusalem and other Syrian states, had erected a defence against the Turks; he sent envoys to Rome, bewailed the misfortune of the Pope, congratulated the Romans on their resistance to a rapacious usurper, and expressed a desire for the Roman crown according to ancient right. The Romans uttered a protest against Henry by actually sending a pompous deputation to Constantinople

¹ The Council of Vienne called the Pope point-blank a simpleton, *scriptum illud, quod rex a vestra simplicitate extorsit, damnavimus*. The Synodal letter reveals all the passionate indignation of the bishops. Baron., *ad A.* 1112

to treat concerning the coronation: the Pope, however, had no share in these theatrical proceedings, and it was merely the Roman nobility who, once again independent and dominant, embraced the opportunity to make a noisy display.¹

Paschalis
II. invests
Duke
William
with
Apulia.

Paschalis from this time enjoyed some tranquil years in Rome; he merely went to and fro between the city and Apulia to look after the rights of the Church. On October 15, 1114, he held a Council in Ceprano, and here, where Gregory VII. had once given his territories in fief to Robert Guiscard, Paschalis bestowed the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily on Roger's successor, Duke William.² Thus the Roman Church, in her position of ever increasing difficulty, strove to secure the protection of Norman Italy, of which she retained the territorial supremacy, while the death of the great countess afforded her the prospect of gaining possession of other estates which she had received in bequest.

Death
of the
Countess
Matilda,
July 24,
1115.

Matilda died at the age of seventy, on July 24, 1115, at her castle, Bondeno de' Roncori near Canossa, leaving the Pope heir to her estates. Her

¹ The statement that the Romans sent 600 envoys to Byzantium is fabulous: the time, May 1112. Petr. Diacon., iv. 46. The letter in which the Abbot of Farfa warns Henry of the Pope's artifices also mentions the embassy. *Cod. Udalr.*, n. 256.

² He first went to Benevento in the winter of 1112, where he made Landulfus *de Graca* constable. The title of *Comestabulus* is now heard for the first time in papal territory. Concerning the Norman investiture, see *Chron. Fossæ Novæ*, A. 1114; Romuald for the year 1115. According to Falco, it extended to the *Ducatus Apuliae, Calabriae, et Siciliae*: Petr. Diacon., c. 49, no longer mentions Sicily; the Duke of Apulia, however, probably still regarded the island as his fief.

celebrated donation, one of the most fatal bequests known to history, became the apple of discord of the time, thrown by a woman between the popes and emperors. Since the days of Pipin there had been no other donation of equal importance, and the two bequests are shrouded in the same darkness. The true geographical or juridical boundaries of Matilda's donation have never been defined, and we have just cause for surprise in the fact that the document which embodies the bequest does not specify by name one single place, while in other deeds of gift of the same period the territories are defined with painful exactitude.¹ Matilda had made an earlier donation to Gregory VII., but the second document informs us that the first had been lost and that Matilda consequently deposited a fresh document in the hands of Bernard, the cardinal-legate at Canossa, on November 17, 1102. She herein bequeathed all her property on both sides of the mountain to the Roman Church for the redemption

Bequest of
Matilda.

¹ The Church had laid claim to Spoleto since the time of Charles. Roman Tuscany she possessed in Carolingian times; in *sec. x.*, however, the greater part of it was united with the margravate of Tuscany. Corneto and Tuscania already belonged to the empire; the margraves and even Matilda held placita there. *Reg. Farf.*, n. 579, n. 799, *in castello et turre de Corgnito in finibus maritimanis territorii et comitatus Tuscanensis*. Even Civita Vecchia was governed by Godfrey of Tuscany (Annovazzi, *Storia di Civita vecchia*, Rome, 1853, c. ii. 224). The name *patrimonium* was first used for Roman Tuscany in *sec. xiv.*, all the country lying between Radicofani and Ceperano had previously been called *Patrimonium S. Rom. Eccl.* Cenni, *Monum.*, ii. 210. The later so-called *patrimonium* has wrongly been derived from Matilda's bequest. Who can say at all in what this bequest consisted?

of her soul and the souls of her relatives.¹ Thoughtful criticism has long rejected the opinion that Matilda could set aside all the legal conceptions of her age, and invest the Pope with the great imperial fiefs held by her ancestors, such as the margravates of Tuscany, Spoleto and Camerino, such as Mantua, Modena and Reggio, Brescia and Parma.² But if her donation were solely restricted to her allodial estates, which lay scattered from the Po to the Liris, it was now no longer possible to discover the boundaries between allodium and imperial fiefs, and the Church was enabled to profit by the uncertainty to give greater extension to her titles.

The sagacity of Gregory VII. had destined Matilda's heritage for the popes; not only could the decayed State of the Church thereby be restored,

¹ No contemporary, except Donizo in verses of general meaning, and Petr. Diacon. (iii. c. 49) in a cursory notice, mentions this genuine donation. Petr. Diacon. : 1077 — *Mathilda comitissa—Heinrici imp. exercitum timens Liguriam* (thus Lombardy was also called) *et Tusciam provincias Gregorio p. et R. E. devotissime obtulit.* The document containing the donation was first edited by Leibnitz, *Rec. Brunsv.*, i. 687, then best, after Albinus and Cencius, by Cenni (*Monum.*, ii. 238), who accompanied it with a treatise of the most arid erudition. The original does not exist; the Vatican crypts, however, contain a fragment of the marble tablet, on which the donation was engraved, and which was placed in S. Peter's. This fragment was restored by Sarti and Settele (*App. to Dionysius, Sacrar. Vat. Bas. Cryptar. Monum.*, Tab. vii.). Sarti holds the tablet to have served as the original not only to the Ottobonian Codex of Albinus, but to all other manuscript copies.

² The Bull of Innocent II. of June 8, 1133, which invests Lothar III. with Matilda's hereditary estates for life, only mentions the *allodium bon. mem. Comitissa Mathilda, quod utique ab ea b. Petro constat esse collatum.* And to the allodial possessions alone (called *Terra, Domus, Podere, Comitatus*) can the donation refer.

but by means of this bequest the Church was able to establish a broad basis for dominion over Italy. Had the popes, who made South Italy a fief of S. Peter, also acquired Matilda's estates, and obtained the transference of her imperial fiefs, nearly the whole of Italy would have owed them vassalage, and the fabulous donation of Constantine would almost have attained reality. Matilda's bequest, of whatever nature it may have been, remains a political masterpiece of the popes, although several long years were to elapse before they succeeded in possessing themselves of the smallest portion of the heritage. Three pretenders appeared to dispute the succession; first, the cities which happily attained their autonomy. The Tuscan cities of Pisa, Lucca, Siena, Florence, Arezzo, which were already in possession of republican constitutions during Matilda's reign, afterwards attained complete freedom, and were never laid claim to by any pope. Over Modena, Reggio, Mantua, and Parma, however, the Church advanced pretensions, while Ferrara remained an actual fief of the Church, the city having been conferred on Tedald, Matilda's grandfather. The other pretenders were Guelf V. of Bavaria, as husband of Matilda, and Henry V. as Emperor and a member of the house of Lorraine. And scarcely had Henry received the tidings of Matilda's death when he prepared to go to Italy to seize her property, while Paschalis never succeeded in acquiring a single inch of her estates. Between his successors and the emperors the heritage of the celebrated countess long remained the practical object of the

struggle, in which the great battle of the spiritual and temporal powers ever found fresh nourishment.¹

¹ Not until later did the popes venture to claim the imperial fiefs. Werner II. had already received the investiture of Spoleto and Camerino from the Emperor. Rabodo first received the margravate of Tuscany; then it fell to Conrad of Swabia in 1119 (Cianelli, *Memorie e Documenti del Principato Lucchese*, i. 159). In 1136 it was conferred on Henry the Proud, a member of the house of Guelf; with the sanction of the Pope, he also received the allodial estates of Matilda.

CHAPTER II.

- I. PASCHALIS II. CONDEMNS THE PRIVILEGIUM—THE ROMANS REVOLT ON ACCOUNT OF THE ELECTION OF A CITY PREFECT—PIER LEONE—HIS FORTRESS BESIDE THE THEATRE OF MARCELLUS—THE DIACONATE OF S. NICCOLO IN CARCERE—DEFECTION OF THE CAMPAGNA—HENRY V. COMES TO ROME—FLIGHT OF PASCHALIS—BURDINUS OF BRAGA—PTOLEMY OF TUSCULUM—RETURN AND DEATH OF PASCHALIS II.—HIS MONUMENTS IN ROME.

PEACE was disturbed in Rome as early as 1116; Henry came to Lombardy, and Paschalis, urged by the united opposition of the bishops, was forced at the Council held at the Lateran in March by solemn oath to condemn the Privilegium of the investiture.¹ The reconciliation which the Emperor had sought to attain through Pontius, Abbot of Cluny, had failed; the Pope undoubtedly refused to sanction Henry's excommunication by the Council; but he did not revoke the anathema of his legates; he permitted John, Archbishop of Milan, to pronounce the excommunication of the Emperor within the cathedral of that city; he explained that a Council alone had the power of removing the malison of bishops.

¹ *Feci autem ut homo, quia sum pulvis et cinis!* exclaimed the unfortunate Pope in the Council. The Acts of the Council in Ekkehard.

Paschalis
condemns
his own
privi-
legium,
March
1116.

Civil war
in Rome
concerning
the pre-
fecture,
1116.

While Henry's envoys held negotiations with the Pope, they came to a secret understanding with the party in Rome who desired the Emperor's arrival. The Romans were subject to transient accesses of rage against the imperium, but their hatred of the papal power was eternal. The death of the Prefect now afforded an opportunity for open revolt. At this period the Roman nobles strove as eagerly to obtain the prefecture as their ancestors had striven for the consulate, for the criminal judge of Rome was an influential personage. All eyes were fixed on the Prefect of the city, when, in solemn processions, surrounded by his judges, he walked beside the Pope, clad in fantastic vestments—a wide-sleeved dalmatic of red silk, a mantle sumptuously trimmed with gold, a mitre of purple velvet on his head, hose of gold on one leg, of red on the other.¹ His election, like the election of the Pope, gave rise to furious party contests. When the candidate had shown himself to the people from a pulpit, and had sworn to the laws of Rome, he was usually conducted in procession to the Pope, who gave his ratification, and was finally invested with the imperial eagle and a naked sword at the hands of an imperial plenipotentiary. For the Emperor regarded him as his vicar

¹ *Praefectus—indutus manto precioso, et calceatus sanca una aurea, i.e. una caliga, altera rubea—juxta dom. Papam collateraliter nullo medio equitante incedit: Ordo Roman. of Cencius in Mabillon, p. 170. Zanca and caliga are boots and hose at the same time, as we see them in early Florentine paintings. Concerning the dress of the Prefect, see Contelorius, *De Praefecto urbis*, p. 3. The effigy on the tomb of Peter de Vico in Viterbo wears a mitre that looks like a truncated pine cone.*

in the city, although the popes also possessed the right of ratifying his appointment. The popes wished to wrest the investiture of the most important civic office from the Emperor, and when times were favourable they even appointed the Prefect on their own authority.¹

On the death of Peter, Prefect of the city, at the end of March 1116, Paschalis wished to bestow the office on a son of Pier Leone; the imperialists and the populace, however, who hated the wealthy nobleman, put forward as candidate the son of Peter, a nephew of Ptolemy of Tusculum.² The Pope took the insignia of the prefecture, and determined to carry the election. While he was in the Lateran on the Thursday before Easter, the popular party forced their way into the church, presented Peter the young candidate, and noisily demanded his ratification. The sacred functions were rudely interrupted, and the centre of the stormy scene was an insolent boy, clad in deep mourning, who desired the office of Prefect of Rome. The Pope put off the insurgents until another day; they left the Lateran uttering threats; Rome divided into two factions, with one or other of whom the Counts of the Campagna them-

¹ Concerning the prefecture Geroh of Reichersberg says: *Grandiora urbis et orbis negotia—spectant ad Rom. Pont. sive illius vicarios—itemque ad Rom. Imp. sive illius vicarium urbis Prefectum, qui de sua dignitate respicit utrumque, vid. D. Papam, cui facit hominum et Dom. Imp., a quo accipit suæ potestatis insigne, sc. exertum gladium* (Baluz., *Miscell.*, v. 64. Geroh wrote about 1150).

² According to Falco and Peter Pisanus, the Prefect died in March; only a marginal gloss from an ancient hand in the *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, says: *A. XVII. Pontif. Paschalis secundi PP. ind. VIII. (more probably IX.) mense aprilis die II. obiit Petrus prefectus.*

selves took part.¹ The revolt waxed in strength during the festival. The Pope on his way to S. Peter's on Easter Monday was met on the bridge of S. Angelo by the furious mob, who again presented the son of the Prefect, and again demanded his investiture. They angrily attacked the papal retinue; the procession returning to the Lateran was followed from the Capitol onwards with showers of stones. The youthful candidate assumed the insignia of the prefecture;² fighting began in the streets; towers and houses were destroyed, churches were sacked, and excesses of every kind were committed.

The
fortress
of Pier
Leone.

The populace attacked the fortress of Pier Leone, which was, however, one of the strongest in the city. The huge Theatre of Marcellus, in the neighbourhood of which the tower of the Pierleoni stood, was admirably adapted to the requirements of a fortress, and the Tiber, and finally the ruins of immense porticos, more especially of the Portico of Octavia, bestowed a still greater strength on the district lying between the river and the Capitol.³ It is

¹ Peter Pisanus, c. 18. Falco, p. 90: *Præf. urbis R. m. quid. Martio obiit, post cujus mortem civile bellum terribiliter exortum est, eo quod Romani audierant, quod Petrus fil. Leonis, Apostolici consilio filium suum Præfectum ordinare vellet.* Order. Vital., xii. 861, says that Pierleone was hated (*quem iniquiss. facinororem noverunt*, more especially the Franks at the Synod of Rheims).

² *At ille non contentus termino, ea die Præfecturalia, a quibus potuit, in se complere fecit*; that is to say, he had himself installed in his office by magistrates (Petr. Pisan., c. 19); and thus we hear of *laudes præfectoriae*, and *applausus comitiorum*.

³ I have already noted the mention of the Theatre of Marcellus in documents of the tenth century (vol. iii. p. 559); the Forum Olistorium, even the elephant in bronze or marble which stood there, still survived.

interesting to note that the Pierleoni, a newly arisen family of Jewish ancestry, had preserved or made their abode in the neighbourhood of the ancient Trasteverine Ghetto and of the island-bridge, which had previously received its name of Pons Judæorum from the Jews, who already dwelt beside it. The centre of the fortress of the Pierleoni was the theatre, and their houses, built like towers, stretched along the river to S. Nicola in Carcere, an ancient diaconate, which had been constructed within the ruins of a beautiful temple.¹ The church still endures, but the palaces of the Pierleoni have vanished. Their towers have been converted into lofty dwelling-houses, within whose ruins we now discover the slaughter-house for buffaloes, and the rag magazine belonging to the Jews of the adjacent Ghetto. Thus the house of a family of haughty senators and consuls of the Romans reverted by a strange irony to the conditions of its origin, since on the spot where, under the protection of Jewish upstarts, the celebrated pope who had preached the Crusades breathed his last, and whence a pope issued from the family of the Pierleoni themselves, the Jews again store

¹ The Temple of Pietas, built in honour of a Roman daughter, who fed her imprisoned father from her own breast, is sought in these ruins. Pliny, vii. c. 36: *et locus ille eidem consecratus Dea C. Quinctio, M. Acilio Coss. Templo Pietatis exstructo in illius carceris sede ubi nunc Marcelli theatrum est.* Becker, *Handbuch*, p. 603. The diaconate was called *in Carcere* from the state prison of the Decemvir Appius Claudius. As early as the beginning of the twelfth century, it was called *in carcere Tulliano*, but wrongly, for the prison built by Servius Tullius stood on the Capitol. The MS. history of this diaconate by Crescimbeni (in the custody of the cardinal of this titular) has afforded me but little help.

their rags, as did the ancestors of Petrus Leo and of Anacletus II.¹

Paschalis
II. escapes
from
Rome.

Pier Leone urgently summoned to his aid the Pope, who, after a severe defeat inflicted on his adherents, had fled to Albano. Paschalis, in his distress, had flung the Church property to the barons, more especially to Ptolemy, whom he invested with Aricia.² The papal militia forced its way into Rome; the enemy was defeated, the young Prefect was taken prisoner, and had already been removed to the fortress of Fumone, when the faithless Ptolemy suddenly attacked the Pope's adherents by Mount Algidus, set his nephew at liberty, and even took papal soldiers prisoners. His defection gave the Campagna the signal for revolt; the Romans attacked the fortress of Pier Leone, and the unfortunate Paschalis sought safety in the tower of

¹ *Graphia: In elephantio templum Sibille, et templ. Ciceronis, ubi nunc est domus filior. Petri Leonis. Ibi est carcer Tullianus, ubi est Eccl. s. Nicolai.* Close by is the island-bridge (*pons judæorum*). We enter the quarter of the Pierleoni through a passage opposite the Savelli palace; the street, Porta Leone, is probably called after the Pierleoni. The forge situated there (*n. VIII., Prioratus del sole* is written on the door) was originally a tower. We recognise traces of former towers in the surrounding houses, for instance in n. 122, 137, 130, where the Jews now slaughter buffaloes. [Signor Lanciani tells me that no change has taken place in the quarter of the Pierleoni since this was written, except that the Jews, having been provided with a new slaughter-house on the plains of Testaccio, no longer kill buffaloes here.—TRANSLATOR.]

² Petr. Pisan., c. 19. Jaffé (n. 3489 a) wrongly attributes the investiture of the Malabranca with Aricia to Alexander II. It was Alexander III. who, on June 9, 1178, confirmed to *Conrado Gregorio et Petro fidelibus nostris filiis b. m. Malabranca* Aricia, which had already been in the possession of their father. Theiner, *Cod. Diplom.*, i. n. xxxi.

Sezza in the Volscian Mountains. The rebellious nobles now invited Henry to Rome; he sent them letters and presents, in the hope that the Pope's hardships might render him more yielding. The revolt was indeed so violent as to afford cause for wonder why the Romans did not now succeed in acquiring an independent constitution. With the summer, however, the civil war came to an end, and Paschalis, who had arrived with troops from Benevento, was enabled at least to enter Trastevere.¹ He re-enters the Lateran. Whether he came to terms with the Romans, by recognising Peter as Prefect, is uncertain; the city, however, or the nobles who ruled her, had at this time actually made her independent of the Papacy.

The Emperor himself now came, and the afflicted Pope, like some sorely hunted animal, was forced again to flight. Henry, irritated by the unsuccessful efforts of his envoys, determined to force Paschalis to yield to his will; for Paschalis wished the Emperor to submit to the sentence of a Council, while the son of Henry IV. was too wise to acquiesce in such a scheme. He arrived about Easter 1117, not in the guise of an enemy to the Church, but with the air of one who sought in all humility for a peaceful settlement of the question of the investiture; the Pope, however, instantly fled to Monte Casino and Benevento. He flees again from Rome in presence of the Emperor. Berald, Abbot of Farfa, John Frangipane, and Ptolemy immediately declared in favour of Henry; he conquered some papal towns, and the Romans opened their gates to their former enemy.

¹ *Sicque Apostolicus ipse tranquillitate inventa Romam securus habitavit*, says Falco of Benevento.

His adherents prepared a formal triumphal entry; the Emperor rode with his wife through the city, garlanded for their reception. He was hailed with shouts of joy by the people, was received by schismatic processions, but was greeted by neither cardinal nor bishop.¹

Henry V.
in Rome,
Easter
1117.

He attempted to gain the clergy; some cardinals, and Burdinus, Archbishop of Braga, legate of Paschalis, held negotiations with him, but every attempt at reconciliation failed, on account of his refusal to renounce the investiture. On Easter Sunday the Emperor went to S. Peter's, not, however, by the bridge of Hadrian, where the fortress was held by the papal party, but making his way across the Tiber in a boat. He assembled a parliament, at which some cardinals appeared; he lamented the absence of the Pope, and expressed his desire for peace between Church and empire. In a magniloquent discourse he set forth the results which would follow if harmony were established between the two heads of Christendom; the glory of one, he said, would be the glory of the other, the union of the two forces would inspire universal dread; Senate, consuls, and nobles, all good citizens of Rome and of the world, would regard them with satisfaction; "Goths, Gauls, Spaniards, Africans, Greeks and Latins, Parthians, Jews and Arabs would

¹ The account of Peter Pisanus (c. 21) is very noteworthy: *Plebs, populusque Rom. triumphum sibi instituit. Coronata urbe Rex et Regina transiit per medium: magnus apparatus, parva gloria. Huic nullus Patrum, nullus Episcoporum, nullus catholicus sacerdos occurrit; fit ei processio, emptia potius, quam indicta.*

fear or love us. But ah! other are our actions and other the fruits which we reap." ¹

The cardinals answered by a courageous speech, in which they set forth, in reply to the Emperor, the actual state of affairs, and his violent acts. They refused to crown him for the festival; for it was the custom for emperors when present in Rome on occasions of high festival to allow themselves to be crowned by the Pope, and thus crowned to walk in procession through the city. The ambitious Burdinus, however, performed the ceremonial as papal legate, whereupon Henry celebrated the Easter festival with great splendour. He gained almost the entire city by means of gold; he confirmed the young Prefect in his office; ² he annexed the most powerful family holding the rank of captain by the ties of relationship. Ptolemy found himself highly honoured when the Emperor bestowed his illegitimate daughter Bertha upon him in marriage. This count, a son of Ptolemy I. of Tusculum, and grandson of the Consul Gregory, looked with pride on the two glorious centuries of his family history, a family which, as his nephew Peter, the deacon of Monte Casino, asserted, was descended in direct line from the Julii and Octavii.³ Henry confirmed the

Ptolemy of
Tusculum.

¹ Peter Pisanus (c. 22): he borrows phrases from Sallust and Livy. This is the idea of the empire which was held by Barbarossa.

² *Et prefecturam per aquilam confirmavit dudum nominato prefecto: Cod. Vat., 1984.* The young Prefect was called Peter like his father; he was still in office at the time of Honorius II. (*Papa Honorio et Petro tunc temporis urbis prefecto: Document of 1148, Galletti, del Prim., n. 57*). It is curious that so many prefects were called Peter.

³ Petrus Diacon., iv. c. 61: *Ptolemæo illustr. Octavia stirpe pro-*

count by an imperial parchment in possession of all the estates inherited from his grandfather; at the same time he made him immediately dependent on the empire, and thus menacingly placed the ancient Tusculan enemy of the Papacy before the Papacy's very doors. The power of Ptolemy, extending as it did from the Sabina to the sea, was very great in relation to the State of the Church, so that this "Dictator of Tusculum," the Duke and Consul of all the Romans, formally appears as the Prince of Latium. The Tusculans made war on their own account with the citizens of Gæta, and, like independent princes, formed treaties with them, by which they conceded to the republic security of traffic within their territories.¹

Paschalis meanwhile held a Council in Benevento, where he excommunicated Burdinus. At his request

genito, Ptolemei magnific. consulis Romanor. filio, Bertram filiam suam in conjugio tradidit. No other chronicler speaks of this marriage, which Peter, however, cannot have invented. In 1141 Leo, son of Petrus Leonis, appears as father-in-law of Ptolemy. Nerini, n. 8, *App. : Dns Tholomeus Curie se representavit cum Dno Leone Petri Leonis socero ejus.* . . . After Bertha's death, Ptolemy must consequently have married a Piccleoni.

¹ Deed of Ptolemy I. for Gæta, February 9, 1105 (Federici, p. 463). Ptolemy II. also accorded Monte Casino liberty of traffic in his possessions. *In nom. Dom. a. ab. In. ejus 1130 m. Jun. Ind. VIII. Ego Ptolem. dei gr. Romanor. consul fil. q. b. m. Ptolemazi—concedo—ut cassinenses fratres et res eor. et homines pro utilis. monasterii secure—eant atque redeant per terram et per mare hiis locis, in quibus dominium habeam, et in portibus nostris.* . . . (*Reg. Petri Diaconi*, n. 604, *Archives of M. Casino*). One of Ptolemy's harbours was Astura, which he had taken from the monastery of S. Bonifazio in Rome (Nerini, pp. 190, 394). Concerning Astura, see C. Soffredini, *Storia di Anzio, Satrico, Astura e Nettuno*, Rome, 1879.

the Prince of Capua sent troops into Roman territory, but although the Emperor had already left for Tuscany about Whitsuntide, the vassals of Tusculum and some Germans were sufficient to make them turn in retreat.¹ Not until August was Paschalis able to leave Benevento with a large army, and to advance as far as Anagni. The Pope, aged and ill, celebrated Christmas at Palestrina under the protection of Peter Colonna, whom, perhaps constrained by necessity, he ratified in possession of the town. His party waxed stronger, and some friendly barons led him back to Rome, where the factions still continued at furious strife.² His appearance with fresh troops in Trastevere terrified the Abbot of Farfa and Ptolemy; the Romans deserted to Paschalis, and the engines of war were already directed against S. Peter's, where the Prefect with several consuls lay entrenched, when the Pope's physical powers gave way.

Paschalis II. returns to Rome, and dies on Jan. 21, 1118.

With his dying words he exhorted the cardinals to concord, to prudence, and to resistance against "the usurpation of the Germans," and passed away in the night of the 21st January 1118, eight days after his return, in a building near the bronze gate

¹ Three hundred Norman cavalry occupied Pylum (Figlio); they were driven back to the Castrum Acutum (Monte Acuto near Anagni) and sent home in sorry plight. Petr. Diacon., vi. c. 61; Petr. Pisan., c. 24.

² *Cod. Vat.*, 1984: *fideles dicti pont. insimul cum comites scil. Petro Columpna ac Raynaldo Sinebaldi clam revocaver. illum, sed non fuit ausus manere in civitate.* The enemy held the Capitol, whence they attacked the Ripa (the houses of the Pierleoni on the Tiber) and S. Peter's, from which they stormed S. Angelo.

of S. Angelo.¹ The enemy lay encamped in S. Peter's, as in a redoubt, and it was therefore found necessary to bury the dead in the Lateran. The pontificate of Paschalis II. was wretched and anxious as but few of the reigns of his predecessors had been; it had been passed not only in strife with the Emperor, but in constant tumult, and he had even witnessed the entire Church in revolt against him.

No mausoleum now recalls the most unfortunate of popes, who had been harried to the tomb by the son of that Emperor whom Gregory VII. had previously hunted to the grave by his malediction. Two churches restored by Paschalis are his only monuments in Rome; S. Bartolomeo on the island in the Tiber, S. Adriano in the Forum (still called *in tribus Fatis*); further S. Maria in Monticelli, and perhaps also S. Clemente, of which he was cardinal. This ancient basilica, destroyed by the fire under Guiscard, was not restored by Cardinal Anastasius the younger at the beginning of the twelfth century, but sank into a subterranean crypt. The new church created above it was built flush with the new Lateran road.² The best memorial of Paschalis was the restored church of the Quattro Coronati on

¹ Petr. Pisan., c. 25: *ut caverent dolos in execratione Guibertinor. ac enormitatis Teutonice.* Cod. Vat., 1984: *octavo die sue reversionis—obiit apud cast. S. Angeli in domum juxta cretam portam et sepultus est in bas. constantiniana, quia consules non permiserunt eum in bas. b. Petri sepelliri—Obiit in vigilia b. Vincentii et Anastasii nocti temporis, that is, January 21.*

² The bishop's chair in S. Clemente bears the inscription, *Anastasius Presbiter Card. Huius Tituli Hoc Opus Cepit Perfecit.* Concerning the restoration of this building, see De Rossi, *Bull.*, 1870, p. 137 f.

the Cœlian, which had also been destroyed by the same Norman fire. This church was consecrated by the Pope on January 20, a short time previous to his flight before Henry V., but its present form is due to a later period.

Thus Paschalis, despite his difficulties, was the first pope who, after a long interval, undertook buildings in Rome, at a time when the monuments of antiquity and the churches were in daily process of destruction under the influence of party strife.¹

2. ELECTION OF GELASIUS II.—THE FRANGIPANI ATTACK THE CONCLAVE—IMPRISONMENT AND RESCUE OF THE POPE—HENRY V. COMES TO ROME, GELASIUS FLIES—THE EMPEROR RAISES BURDINUS TO THE SACRED CHAIR AS GREGORY VIII.—HE RETURNS TO THE NORTH—GELASIUS II. A SUPPLIANT FOR PROTECTION IN ROME—THE FRANGIPANI ATTACK HIM FOR THE SECOND TIME—HE ESCAPES TO FRANCE—DEATH OF THE UNFORTUNATE POPE IN CLUNY.

The Cardinal of S. Maria in Cosmedin was hurriedly summoned from Monte Casino to Rome to be made Pope. John of Gæta, born of illustrious family, a monk under the Abbot Oderisius, had acquired such knowledge in this school of the Benedictines, that he had been taken by Urban II. as his chancellor to Rome. He became archdeacon

¹ Peter Pisanus enumerates some buildings of Paschalis, among them *S. Maria in regione Arcole* (*Arenale*, shore of sand, whence arose the name Regola, now in Monticelli). The mosaics still remaining in S. Clemente and S. Maria in Monticelli belong to the time of Paschalis.

under Paschalis II. His moderation protected the Pope against the zealots ; and it was perhaps owing to his influence that the schism and the complete rupture with the Emperor were averted. Relying on the firmness of a man educated in the great times of Gregory VII. and Urban, the Catholic party could entrust the chancellor to uphold the principle of free election in the question of the investiture.¹ The conclave was to be held in S. Maria in Pallara (Palladium) on the Palatine ; this convent in the neighbourhood of the Frangipani tower belonged to the Curia, which had bestowed it on Monte Casino ; and here John Gætanus dwelt, as had formerly Frederick of Lorraine, before being elected to the Papacy.² The election took place in secret ; it was resolved to carry out the decree of Nicholas II. ; the ceremony was to be the work of the cardinals and no regard was paid to the Emperor's right.

Gelasius
II., Pope,
1118-1119.

John was unanimously proclaimed as Gelasius II. on January 24, 1118. Aged and infirm, he struggled in vain against the tiara, which, at a time when almost every pope was forced to play a tragic part, was not an enviable possession. Neither can he have been immediately consecrated ; since, being a deacon,

¹ *Vita Gelasii II.*, by Pandulf Pisanus, in Muratori, iii. 1, with confused notes by Cajetani, but better edited by Papebroch, *Propyl. Maji*, vi. According to Cajetani, the father of Gelasius was Crescentius, Dux of Fundi ; he traces the family back to Docibilis of Gæta, and successfully still further back to the inevitable Anicii.

² *Credentes locum tutissimum, veluti qui Curie cedit, in monasterio quodam, quod Palladium dicitur, infra domos Leonis et Cencii Frangipanis—convenerunt.* *Vita*, c. 5.

it was first necessary that he should be ordained presbyter, and this ceremony could not be performed before the Ember-days in March. The newly elected Pope had scarcely begun his melancholy survey of the trials which lay before him, when the doors of the conclave were broken open : infuriated Romans rushed in with drawn swords, a second Cencius seized the old man by the throat, threw him down, trod upon him with his spurred feet, and dragged him with curses outside the church, while his vassals bound the fugitive cardinals with cords, or threw them head foremost from their mules. The conclave had been held in the very lair of the beast of prey. The electors would probably have acted more wisely had they placed themselves under the protection of Pier Leone, but since it seemed probable that Pier Leone already coveted the tiara for his son, they no longer trusted the powerful consul. No noble family long remained faithful to one banner. Bitter enemies of the pope were converted into his most zealous vassals, and with equal rapidity forgot that they had ever adopted the latter rôle. The cardinals had perhaps promised the imperialist Frangipani to elect a candidate of the imperial faction ; and the consequence of the deception was the brutal attempt made by a Roman consular family to imitate the *coup-d'état* of Henry V.¹

He is
attacked
after his
election
by Cencius
Frangi-
pani.

¹ Pandulf was a witness of the scene. (*Cencius*) *more draconis immaniss. sibilans—accinctus tetra gladio—valvas ac fores confregit, eccl. furibundus introiit, Papam per gulam accepit, distraxit, pugnīs calcibusque percussit, et tanquam brutum animal intra limen eccl. acriter calcaribus cruentavit ; et latro tantum Dominum per capillos et*

The
Romans
release
Gelasius.

Gelasius found himself loaded with chains in a tower belonging to Cencius Frangipane. But the populace arose; the militia of the twelve regions of the city proper united with the inhabitants of Trastevere and the island and rushed to arms. The Prefect Peter, now reconciled to Pier Leone, Pier Leone himself, with his numerous family, Stephen the Norman, and other magnates of papal sympathies assembled with their clients on the Capitol.¹ They demanded the surrender of the Pope; the brigand loosed the fetters of his captive, threw himself at his feet and obtained absolution. The wild scene from Gregory VII.'s life was repeated almost feature for feature, and with equal rapidity the tragedy was transformed into a joyous festival. Rome decorated herself with garlands; the Pope, restored to liberty, was placed on a white mule, and was led amid shouts of rejoicing to the Lateran, where, with tears of emotion, he received the homage of the Romans.² Has history ever recorded, in the case of any other

brachia detraxit, ad domum usque deduxit, inibi catenavit et clausit (c. 6). Probably in the *turris cartularia* at the Arch of Titus.

¹ An important passage: *Petr. Præfectus Urbis, Petr. Leonis cum suis, Steph. Normannus cum suis, Steph. de Petro cum suis, Steph. de Theobaldo cum suis, Steph. de Berisone cum suis, Steph. Quatrato cum suis, Bucca Pecorini cum suis, Bonesci cum suis, Berisasi cum suis, Regiones XII. Romana civitatis, Transtiberini et Insulani arma arripiunt cum ingenti strepitu Capitolium scandunt* (*Vita*, c. 6). A proof that Trastevere and the island were politically or administratively separated from the *urbs romana*.

² *S. Papa levatur, nivem ascendit equum, coronatur, et tota Civitas coronatur; per viam sacram* (the road from the Colosseum to the Lateran) *gradiens, Lateranum ascendit . . .* (c. 7). Cencius escaped: *pedes ejus amplexans, clamat irremissius: Domine miserere. Et sic— ut iterum eccl. elatis cornibus ventilaret, evasit.*

sovereigns, a union of impotence and omnipotence such as that displayed by the popes of the Middle Ages?

After so terrible an entrance on his pontificate Gelasius II. scarcely found a single month's rest in Rome. The Frangipani hastened to point out to the Emperor that a pope had been elected without their assent and to summon him to the city. Henry V., whom it immediately behoved to assert the rights of the crown at this juncture, and to instal a pope who recognised the privilegium of Paschalis, with a scanty force, hastily quitted his camp on the Po, and Gelasius was awakened on the night of March 2, with the tidings that the dreaded Emperor was in the portico of the Vatican.¹ The Curia was seized by panic terror; the Pope himself had already, in company with Paschalis, been a prisoner in the hands of the Emperor; he was now menaced with the same fate. He was placed on horseback, and, escaping from the Lateran, hid himself in the tower of the Roman Bulgamin, beside S. Maria in the region of S. Angelo.² Henry's messengers sought

Henry V.
appears
in Rome.

¹ Falco, A. 1118. *Cod. Vat.*, 1984: *eum festinatione Romam petit cum paucis militibus, die veneris ante quadragesima misit nuntios ad consules ut exirent obviam ei. Sabbatum vero ante quadragesima ingressus est porticum S. Petri.* The inscription on the tomb of Gelasius says very justly of the Emperor:—

*Sed quia rege fuit non præcipiente levatus
Horrendum fremuit princeps. . . .*

—Murat., iii. i. 416.

² The ancient family of the Bulgamini must consequently have settled in one of the adjacent porticos. Inscriptions on the tombs of the *De VVLGAMINEIS* are found as late as the year 1496 in

Gelasius
escapes to
Gæta.

him out, but, not trusting their invitation, he resolved on flight to Gæta, his native city. He was accompanied by his court, his cardinals, his bishops.¹ The fugitives embarked in two vessels on the adjacent Tiber. But the very elements rose in revolt: a tempest prevented the vessels from venturing on the open sea at Portus, and from the shore the Germans in pursuit shot their arrows on the storm-tossed galleys, while, amid thunder and lightning, they shouted imprecations and threatened that they would set fire to the vessels with rings of pitch unless the Pope were given up.² Night, however, and the force of the current prevented Henry V. from effecting a second capture of the Pope. The fugitives landed unperceived; Cardinal Hugo of Alatri, just returned from the Cape of Circe, where he had acted as Paschalis's castellan, like a second Æneas, lifted the feeble Gelasius on his broad shoulders, and carried him through rain and storm to the fortress of S. Paul near Ardea.³ The Germans surrounded

S. Barbara Librarium, and one of 1530 in the Pantheon (Galletti, *Inscript.*, xvi. 8, 48).

¹ Also Roman nobles, among whom Petr. Diacon., iv. c. 64, even mentions the City Prefect. I doubt this.

² The description of Pandulf, who accompanied the Pope as Ostiarius, is excellent; in his fear, he believed the arrows of the Germans to be poisoned. *Calum et terra et mare ubique—adversum nos conjuraverunt—mare ac Tiberis—Petri vicario rebellabant—Alamanorum barbaries tela contra nos mixto toxico jaciebant: minitabantur etiam, nos intra aquas natantes pinnaci (piceo?) igne cremare.*

³ *Cepit Dom. Hugo Card.—Papam nostrum in collo, et ad castrum S. Pauli Ardeam de nocte sic portavit.* The half of the ancient Ardea of King Turnus belonged at that time to the abbey of S. Paul. In 1130 Anaclete II. gave it entirely to the monastery. Ardea is first mentioned again in the eleventh century as *castellum cum rocca et*

the vessel in the morning, but, finding the Pope gone, returned to Rome. The galleys again received the fugitives at night and bore them past Terracina to Gæta, where Gelasius at length found rest. Here the scene suddenly changed; for there hastened to his side, full of reverence, the bishops and the nobles of South Italy, William of Apulia, Robert of Capua, Richard of Gæta, and many knights and counts, who had acknowledged Gelasius as feudal lord as soon as he was ordained Pope on March 10.¹

The flight had frustrated Henry's intentions, and had shattered the prospect of a treaty; the Emperor consequently put forward an anti-pope. Gelasius had refused his invitation to come to terms, and had declined to be present at Henry's coronation in S. Peter's, with the explanation that he intended to convoke a Council in September, to settle the pending dispute, either in Milan or Cremona. Both these cities were hostile to the Emperor. When Henry now pronounced the election of Gelasius null, and caused a new pope to be elected, he was acting entirely within the rights which then belonged to the empire. As he now announced the answer of the fugitive to the Romans assembled in S. Peter's, he was met by cries of genuine or feigned indignation, that Gelasius wished to remove the seat of the Papacy to Milan, and by a demand for a new election.

Aure maiore, in a Bull of Gregory VII., who bestowed half of it on S. Paul's. G. Tomassetti, "*Della Campagna Romana*" (*Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, 1880, iii, 139).

¹ The flight to Gæta was repeated 729 years later in the history of Pius IX.

Burdinus,
anti-pope,
installed as
Gregory
VIII.,
March 10,
1118.

Jurists, whom Henry had brought with him, among them the celebrated Irnerius of Bologna, explained from the pulpit the constitutions of the papal election. Mauritius Burdinus, Archbishop of Braga in Portugal, was proclaimed Pope, and was led in procession to the Lateran. The following day (March 10) he was consecrated as Gregory VIII. by the schismatic clergy in S. Peter's.¹

Thus, on the very scene of their fierce conflict with Henry V., the Romans accepted a foreign anti-pope at his hands. If the history of the city in the Middle Ages appals us by the ferocity of the scenes presented, still more does it arouse our astonishment by the unparalleled fickleness of its populace. In the midst of the ever-varying and excited tide of parties, the Papacy presents a unique spectacle, and one which can never be repeated; since the rock of Peter, the *immobile saxum*, remains eternally firm and unchangeable. To blame the Romans, however, for their want of principle, without explaining the reason of the deficiency, were unjust. Consciousness of liberty and of conformity to law can alone endow a people with dignity of character; the republic of Rome—a chimerical thing—was forced

¹ According to Landulf, junior (*Hist. Mediol.*, c. 32), Burdinus was elected on March 9. Gelasius says, in his letter to the bishops of Gaul (Mansi, xxi. 166), on the forty-fourth day after his own election, which would make it March 10. This day (*VI. Id. Martii*) is given also by *Chron. Fossanova. Cod. Vat.*, 1984: *consecrarunt eum—in die veneris de quatuor tempora que sunt de mense martio*. Burdinus was probably a native of Limoges in Aquitaine. See his Life by Baluzius (*Miscell.*, iii. 471), an excellent vindication of an anti-pope; he is also praised by William of Malmesbury, v. 169.

to oscillate to and fro between Papacy and empire. One principle only remained fixed within the city ; opposition to the civil power of the Pope.

Burdinus, although ambitious, was a man of intelligence, and of blameless repute ; the Catholic party wished to represent him as merely a creature of the Emperor, Gelasius as the chosen of all the cardinals. The anti-pope, however, was supported by the imperial power, and was soon recognised by several provinces of Italy, Germany, and even England. Gelasius comforted himself with the reflection that barely three Catholic priests had gone over to Burdinus ; nevertheless, he saw Rome filled with Wibertists, and the Church reduced to the same state of misery as she had endured in the time of Clement III.¹ The political principle of this terrible discord still endured, and the means of the struggle remained ever the same. Gelasius, who had signed Henry's privilegium seven years before, now excommunicated the Emperor at Capua on Palm Sunday. He even implored the Norman princes to bring him back to Rome, and to drive away the "barbarians," whose military forces were insignificant. Henry had already advanced against Ceprano ; he was engaged in laying siege to the fortress of Torrice near Frosinone, when he heard of the approach of the Normans.² He withdrew, left Burdinus in Rome,

Departure
of Henry

¹ Read the letter of Gelasius to Conon of Præneste *dat. Capuae Id. V. April. Cod. Udalr.*, 293 ; Mansi, xxi. 173.

² Petr. Diacon. and Pandulf write *Turricula* (so in *Cod. Vat.*, 3762, fol. 165) ; it is Torrice near Frosinone, and not Torricella in the Sabina, or on Lake Trasimene, as Wattenbach (note to the *Chron. of Monte Casino, Mon. Germ.*, ix. 792) wrongly conjectures. The

Gelasius
II. returns
to Rome.

and went to Lombardy. The Norman princes, however, who had escorted the Pope to Monte Casino, left him here, perhaps because he had failed to satisfy all their demands.¹ Gelasius, who was obliged to purchase permission for his journey through the Campagna from the margraves, traversed his own territories in the beginning of July like a poor pilgrim, and having entered Rome, knocked to seek protection at the doors of some friendly consuls. He made his abode near S. Maria in Secundicerio, between the towers of Stephen Normannus, of his brother Pandulf, and of Peter Latro, of the family of Corsi.² The city, however, awaited a repetition of the sight of two popes, who invoked curses on each other's head, who engaged in mutual warfare, and who (in the uncouth language of the time) called one another a mere plasma, a statue moulded by blood-stained hands, an idol of clay, and an apocalyptic beast.³

Emperor's march could only have been directed against Latium, to strike terror into the Normans.

¹ I believe that to these belonged the question of the Circæan fortress. Gelasius had commanded Cardinal Hugo to restore it to the people of Terracina. Pandulf, however, says: *tunc Papa vellet multum, quam reddi nimis inconsulto precepit, Circæam arcem habere. Igitur dux et principes cum baronibus rediere.* Probably the Duke of Gaëta wished to recover possession of the fortress.

² *Latiut dom. Papa melius quam hospitatus est in ecclesiola quadam, qua S. Maria in Secundoerio dicitur, intra domos illustr. viror. Stephani Normanni, Pandulphi fratris ejus, et Petri Latronis Corsorum* (Pandulf, c. 12). This church was situated, according to Panciroli, in the Region Ponte. Galletti (*del Prim.*, p. 89) transfers it to the neighbourhood of S. Maria in Gradellis near the Palatine; a document in Nerini, n. 27, seems to indicate this.

³ The epithets applied to schismatical popes: *statua in Ecclesia*;

Burdinus possessed the greater part of the city and was recognised by more than half of Rome; undisturbed, he occupied S. Peter's, the fortress of schismatical popes; Gelasius, on his side, was able to venture to S. Paul's, where his adherents stood in arms. But upon Gelasius misfortune seemed to deal repeated blows. Invited to the festival of S. Prassede on July 21 by the cardinal of this titular church, he went, although the building stood close to the towers of the Frangipani. Stephen the Norman, and Crescentius Gætanus, nephew of the Pope, valiant men, accompanied him with a body of armed retainers.¹ But mass was not ended before the rude Frangipani burst into the church with a hail of stones and arrows; in a moment the scene was darkened by the tumult of battle; the Pope escaped unnoticed, while his followers remained in fierce struggle with the imperialists. "What are you doing, O Frangipani?" finally cried Stephen. "Where are you running? The Pope, whom you seek, has escaped. Do you wish to ruin us? Are we not Romans like yourselves, and related to one another by blood? Back! back! that we also, who are wearied, may return home!" The fierce Cencius and Leo Frangipane, both sons of Donna Bona, sister of Stephen, yielded to the appeal of their uncle; swords were sullenly sheathed, and the parties separated.² Search was made for the Pope

The
Frangipani
attack
Gelasius
in S.
Prassede.

monstrum in cathedra Petri; testaceum idolum in cruentis manibus plasmatum; bestia de apocalypsi. . . .

¹ According to Cajetani, p. 370, the father of this Crescentius was Marinus, Dux and Consul of Fundi, and brother of Gelasius.

² Pandulf represents the factions fighting round the poor Pope,

through the entire city, and outside the gates. Some matrons had seen him escape on horseback, clad merely in a part of the pontifical vestments, and only accompanied by the crucifix. He was discovered in the evening. The unfortunate old man, seated in a field near S. Paul's, surrounded by compassionate women, is one of the most touching figures in the annals of the Papacy.¹

"Brothers and sons," said Gelasius the following day, "we must leave Rome, where to live longer is impossible. Let us escape from Sodom and Egypt, from Babylon, the city of blood. Before God I sigh: Better one emperor than so many, since one bad would destroy the worst, until the Emperor of all the emperors overtakes even him with his judgment."² He appointed Peter of Portus as his vicar, Cardinal Hugo his legate in Benevento, confirmed Peter in the prefecture, and made Stephen the Norman standard-bearer of the Church in Rome.³ He took six cardinals with him, among them the soon afterwards celebrated son of Pier Leone, some

like the Greeks and Trojans round the dead Patroclus: *Papam cupit iste tenere, iste tuctur eum: miles utrumque cadit*, c. 13.

¹ The women had seen the Pope *solum, tanquam scurram, per campos—quantum equus poterat, fugientem.—Demum intra campos S. Pauli Ecclesia adjacentes fessus tristis, et ejulans inventus est et reductus.*

² Baronius remarks with regard to this: *si quis dicat, portum Rom. Ecclesia fluctantis navicula Petri Galliam esse, non mentietur.*

³ *Princeps et clypeus omnium pariter Curialium, Stephanus Normannus,—Protector et vexillifer—ordinatur, et ad urbis custodiam cum jam dictis aptatur* (c. 15). In such manner had the bitter enemy of Paschalis been transformed; undoubtedly not without acquiring many possessions of the Church.

consuls, among whom were Peter Latro, and John Bellus the brother of the Prefect.¹ On September 2 he took ship with the intention of going to France, whither Paschalis and Urban had previously carried in safety the bark of Peter. The rich commercial city of Pisa accorded him a solemn reception; he raised it into a metropolis, to which he made the bishops of Corsica subject; he consecrated the lordly cathedral, and preached within it as eloquently "as Origen"; and his misfortunes had truly provided him with sufficient food for wise reflections. In October he sailed for Genoa, and finally landed not far from the mouth of the Rhone at the convent of S. Egidius in Occitania.

The bishops and princes of France, and the ambassadors of King Lewis, greeted the honoured fugitive at Maguelone, Montpellier, Avignon, and other cities. Southern France, still warm with the enthusiasm of the Crusades, flocked to see the Vicar of Christ, who had been driven from the grave of Peter, not by Saracens, but by Romans, and voluntary offerings and Peter's pence flowed to the succour of the distressed. The popes of this age were obliged to leave Rome in order to realise in foreign countries that they were still actually revered as representatives of Christ. Exiled monarchs, wherever they may find an asylum, forfeit with the loss of their own crown the reverence with which it was allied; but so marvellous a renown encompassed the figure of a pope, that flight and abject poverty

Gelasius in France.

¹ I find this Bellus again in the *Charta plenarie securitatis inter Cajetanum et Bellum Romanum*, A. 1124; of this later on.

Death of
Gelasius
II., Jan.
29, 1119.

only served to lend it additional lustre. The excitement in France, allied to his sufferings in Rome, combined to shorten an old man's days. Gelasius died on January 29, 1119, in the convent of Cluny, surrounded by monks, cardinals, and bishops, stretched in his shabby tunic on the bare ground. His pontificate had only lasted a year and four days, and within this span of time the sorrows of a whole life had been compressed. No sensitive man can look unmoved by feelings of sympathy on the unfortunate figure of this last sacrifice to the struggle for investiture.

3. CALIXTUS II. — NEGOTIATIONS WITH HENRY V. — COUNCIL AT RHEIMS — CALIXTUS COMES TO ITALY — HIS ENTRY INTO ROME — FALL OF THE ANTI-POPE IN SUTRI — THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS — SALUTARY AGITATION OF THE WORLD BY THE CONFLICT CONCERNING INVESTITURE — PEACEFUL RULE OF CALIXTUS II. IN ROME — THE END OF THE GREAT DISPUTE IS COMMEMORATED BY MONUMENTS IN THE LATERAN — DEATH OF CALIXTUS II.

Gelasius had desired the Cardinal of Palestrina as his successor, but Conon instead proposed the Archbishop of Vienne. In a time of difficulty, such as this, no one was better fitted for the Papacy than this princely prelate. Guido, son of Count William Testardita, a descendant of the house of Burgundy, was related to the French king and even to the Emperor; he was the most prominent bishop in France, was prudent and determined, and was uni-

versally celebrated for his courageous attitude during the war of investiture. That in France, the asylum of the fugitive Pope, a Frenchman should be chosen, was natural; that such a Pope should find protection under Lewis VI. was undoubted. A curious thing happened. The six cardinals who had accompanied Gelasius and the few remaining Romans in a foreign country elected a foreigner as Pope. The election took place in the celebrated convent of Cluny on February 2. But Guido hesitated to assume the purple before the cardinals in Rome had ratified the appointment. The Cardinal Vicar Peter of Portus received the writ of election from France. He assembled the Romans first at S. John's on the island in the Tiber, then on the Capitol; and the cardinals, the nobles of the Catholic party, more especially Pier Leone, whose son had been one of the electors of the Archbishop Guido, the Prefect, clergy, and populace unanimously assented. The great advantages which Guido promised appeased the feeling of injured pride among the Romans; nevertheless, they observe in their reply that the elections ought to have taken place in their city or territory, and ought to have been the work of the Roman cardinals.¹

Guido, almost universally recognised, was conse-

¹ The letters of the Roman clergy are given in *Cod. Udal.*, 294-299, and Martene, *Veter. Scriptor. Collectio*, i. 644-647. The events are related in the *Vita Calixti* of Pandulf (Papebroch, c. 1) and Falco, p. 92; *Illico cardinales cum eo* (the vicar Peter) *manentes, pluresq. Romanor. fidelium convocans, Capitolium ascendit, ibique literas missas ostendit.* Hugo, cardinal-legate in Benevento, and Landulf, the archbishop of that place, also sent their adhesion.

Calixtus
II., Pope,
1119-1124.

crated as Calixtus II. on February 9 at Vienne.¹ He immediately appeared with great power in France; his object was the settlement of the schism and the long quarrel for investiture. With a weak or stupid pope, Henry V. might have had an easy game, but in Calixtus II., the haughty legate, who had previously anathematised him in Vienne, and had threatened Pope Paschalis with the withdrawal of his obedience, the Emperor found his match. Disorder reigned in Germany; the sedition of the princes and clergy (at whose head stood the Archbishop of Mainz, the ungrateful Albert, Frederick of Cologne, and Conrad of Salzburg) seemed ready, as in the time of Henry IV., to assume larger proportions. A second Diet of Tribur was threatened; an assembly of princes here recognised Calixtus; adroit agents guided the dispute, whose settlement was anxiously awaited by the world, and Henry showed himself ready for a practical solution of the strife. He nevertheless delayed, and failed to appear at the great Council at Rheims in October, where, according to intention, all disputes were to be adjusted. The cunning enemy lurking in the neighbourhood perhaps contemplated another chase of the Pope. On October 29, in presence of 424 bishops of Christendom, Calixtus II. ratified the prohibition of investiture; the following day sentence of excommunication was pronounced against Henry V. and his pope, upon which 424 burning tapers were

Council
at Rheims,
Oct. 1119.

¹ Pagi and Jaffé believe that the consecration took place as early as February 9, as the chroniclers certainly say; but how was this possible, if the messengers were awaited from Rome?

thrown upon the ground in anger, resistance, or with smiles. This was the expiring flame of the world-famous dispute, which soon after died away.¹

Early the following year Calixtus was able to set forth on his journey to Rome. Advancing through Provence, and across the Alps to Lombardy, and onwards through Tuscany, he was greeted with rejoicing on every side. In Rome the Catholic party even prepared him a triumph. Gregory VIII. had with difficulty here defended himself against the standard-bearer of the Church; Bruno of Tréves and a band of Germans sent by the Emperor were his only protectors; the archbishop, with the aid of the Frangipani, manfully defended the city against the Normans under Robert of Capua. Gold, however, flowed too sparingly into the outstretched hands of the Romans; the imperial party was obliged, after several attacks, to retreat to Trastevere, within which Gregory VIII.'s power was now restricted.² Finally, on the approach of Calixtus, he quitted the treacherous city, and retired to the fortified town of Sutri. He implored his adherents to hold the fortress of S. Angelo, and also S. Peter's, but Pier Leone opened both with a key of gold.³

¹ The account of the Council by Hesso Scholasticus has last been edited in *Mon. Germ.*, xiv. 422.

² Bruno to the Emperor (Bower, *Annal. Trevir.*, ii. lib. xiii. 14): *jam vero cum urbe relicta ad oppida Romani territorii tu arma translulisti, et Robert. Capua princ. pro Gelasio armatus Romam iniisset, ego cum Dom. meo Maximo (Burdinus) noctes et dies excubans, in tuo servitio, sub armor. pondere steti.* Robert can only have forced his way into Rome after the flight of Gelasius.

³ *Cod. Vat.*, 1984; *accepta pecunia tradiderunt eam (basilicam) S.*

Calixtus
II. enters
Rome,
June 3,
1120.

Calixtus II. made his solemn entry on June 3, 1120. Following immediately on the unfortunate figure of the weak Gelasius, was seen the majestic form of a true king clad in the papal vestments. Contrasts such as this were only possible in the Church. The militia went to meet him at three days' distance from the city; outside the city he was greeted by children bearing branches of flowers, and at the gates by the nobles, people, and clergy. The Pope, wearing his crown, rode on a white palfrey to the Lateran, while the streets were decorated with silken palls, with wreaths and jewels.¹ The unusual reception well befitted the fortunate successor of two unpretending and humble popes, since in Calixtus princely descent and wealth lent additional splendour to the papal dignity. The new Pope might well be content; the party of Burdinus was easily won by gold, and the nobility eagerly thronged to do him homage.²

The Pope, however, soon went to the South. It

Petrus Petro Leonis, qui fidelis erat Calixti pape, cum omnibus ejus munitionibus. The date is uncertain.

¹ The entry is thus described by Eginus, Abbot of S. Ulrich in Augsburg, who accompanied the Pope from Rosella to Rome (Canisius, *Antiquæ Lection.*, ii. 240). The date is *III. Nonas Junii*, as in the letter of Calixtus to Stephen, his legate in Trèves (Bower, ii. 16), where he briefly describes his reception. Falco also speaks of the rejoicings in Rome, and Anselm, *Contm. Sigeberti*, says: *ab omni Senatu et populari turba gloriose excipitur.*

² In the letter already mentioned, Calixtus mentions among those who did homage to himself and the Church: *Petrus Leonis in magno hominum omnis ordinis catu*, the Prefect and his brothers, Leo Frangipani, Stephen Normannus. *Neque ab horum sese studiis, impigra parendi voluntate, Petrus Columna, ceterique nobiles Romanorum secretever.*

had long been customary for the newly-elected popes to visit Apulia, to secure themselves in the possession of the valuable Benevento, to obtain the renewal of the Norman oath of vassalage, and, when necessary, to return with an army. Calixtus remained two months at Monte Casino ; he received, on August 8, the homage of Benevento, and soon after that of the princes of Apulia.¹ He then collected troops, and returned, in December 1120, to Rome, where he celebrated the Easter festival the following year with unwonted splendour. He sent Cardinal John of Crema to besiege Sutri, and followed in person. Burdinus, who had lost hope, had maintained a guerilla war and disturbed the roads leading to Rome ; he was now only able to defend himself for eight days. This imperial idol was soon abandoned, as Cadalus had been before him. After the first attack, he was surrendered by the citizens of Sutri on April 22, 1121. The mercenaries of John of Crema treated the prisoners with harsh brutality, and the Pope abused an inglorious victory by condemning the Archbishop of Braga to appear in ridiculous guise as an outrider on his entry into Rome. Gregory VIII., clad in a shaggy goat-skin, and riding backwards on the camel which carried the papal kitchen utensils, was led like a wild animal through the city amid a shower of stones and lashes, was imprisoned in the Septizonium, was condemned

Fall of
Burdinus,
April 22,
1121.

¹ Falco described the entrance of the Pope into Benevento. The wealthy people of Amalfi had decorated all the streets with draperies ; *infra ornamenta vero thuribula aurea, et argentea cum odoribus et cinnamomo posuerunt.* They played on *tympana, cymbala, lyras.*

to life-long exile, and was dragged from one tower in Campania to another, to Passerano, to the fortress of Janula near S. Germano, afterwards to the convent of La Cava, until he met his end either at the latter place or in Fumone. These were the barbarous triumphal processions of the Middle Ages in Rome.¹

The fall of the anti-pope involved the humiliation of many captains. The Counts of Ceccano and Segni, men of German race, Lando, Godfrey, and Raynald yielded subjection, and after Calixtus had caused the tower of Cencius Frangipane to be thrown down, a Pope was at length able to call himself ruler of the city and to dwell within it in peace.² This rapid success had also an effect in Germany. The triumph over the imperial pope dealt a blow to the Emperor and to his claims to install or to ratify the popes. The dreadful overthrow of Gregory VIII. was represented to the world as the fall of Simon Magus, and served to hasten the end of the dispute about investiture.

¹ *Cod. Vat.*, 1984. Falco, A. 1121 (gives *IX. Kal. Majas* as the date). The letter of Calixtus to the bishops of Gaul, which informs them of the fall of Burdinus, is dated Sutri, April 27. *Sugerii Vita Lud. Regis* (Duchesne, iv. 310). *Anon. Cassin. Chron.*, A. 1121. The *Vita Calixti ex Card. Aragon.* says that Burdinus, mounted on a camel, rode before the Pope. Honorius II. had him brought from Janula to Fumone in 1124. *Petrus Diacon.*, iv. 86.

² *Hic pro servanda pace turres Centii, domus tyrannidis et iniquitatis, dirui, et ibidem non reparari præcepit. Vita Calixti*, by Pandulf, c. 4. Of the Counts of Ceccano, c. 5. In a deed concerning Corsica, between the Genoese envoys and the *fideles domini pape Calixti*, dated Rome, S. Cosma et Damiani, June 16, 1121, *Petrus pref. Stephan. Normannus, Leo fil. Petri Leonis, Cencius Frangipane* and his brother *Leo* are cited as faithful to the Pope (*Iter. Ital.*, by Pfugk-Hartung, 1884, ii. section, p. 456).

In order to tranquillise the indignant empire, Henry, taught by his father's fate, resolved to yield ; and Calixtus, a man of wider views than his predecessor (whose intellect was limited to the ideas of monasticism), was equally liberal-minded and equally inclined to reconciliation. The basis of a peace between empire and Church was discussed at several German Diets between the princes and the Cardinal-legates Lambert of Ostia, Gregory, and Sasso. As in the time of Paschalis, two treaties were prepared : the Emperor renounced the right of investiture with ring and crosier ; he recognised the freedom of election and ordination of the clergy, and promised the restitution of all Church property. The Pope on his side admitted that within the German empire the election of bishops should take place in presence of the Emperor's envoys, that in Germany candidates should receive the investiture of the crown property symbolically through the sceptre, that outside Germany the candidates should first receive consecration, to be followed within six months by investiture with the sceptre.¹ The victory of the Church was more decisive than the advantage gained by the State, from which a great principle had been wrested, namely, the free election of the clergy. The Church, however, no longer impugned the secular standing of the bishops as subjects ; she installed

¹ The two celebrated documents, *Ego Henricus — dimitto ; Ego Callistus — concedo*, in the *Cod. Udalr.*, 305, 306 ; *Chron. Ekkehardi* for 1122, in Baronius (with some variants, though he gives the imperial document from the Vatican manuscript, from which it has been last printed by Theiner, *Cod. Dipl.*, i. n. xii.) ; and in many other places.

them in the spiritual office, and the Emperor placed the Church in possession of her feudal principality or lordship.¹

The
Concordat
of Worms,
1122.

The joy was great when these two documents were read in the presence of a countless multitude in Worms on September 23, and when Cardinal Lambert solemnly received the son of the unfortunate Henry back into the communion of the Church. The wounds of a deadly war were healed, the devastated world found peace. The quarrel for investitures had lasted half a century, and, no less destructive than the Thirty Years' War, had ravaged Germany and also Italy, and wasted the flower of the contemporary generation. A satirist might perhaps display two sealed parchments to the world as the result of this destructive war. He might scoff at mankind, which had had a solution (apparently so simple) of its difficult problems before its eyes, but, blinded by passion, had overlooked it until, after half a century's terrible wandering, it had come round by a tortuous path to the point whence it had started. Was it necessary to shed so much blood in order that ring and crosier should be exchanged for the sceptre? or to discover the truth

¹ We are forced to say with Hallam : " It is manifest, from the events that followed the settlement of this great controversy about investitures, that the See of Rome had conquered " (*Europe during the Middle Ages*, i. c. 7). The history of the quarrel for investitures has been written by the ex-Jesuit Maimbourg, *Histoire de la décadence de l'Empire après Charles Magne et des différends des Empereurs avec les Papes au sujet des Investitures*, Paris, 1679) ; to refute whom Noris (later cardinal) wrote his *Istoria delle Investiture* (Mantua, 1741).

that the demands of the State should only refer to the things of the State, those of the Church to things spiritual? It is a melancholy truth that mankind must fight its slow progress by means of the rude shocks of war, and that the gains of centuries only appear as insignificant fractions in the human Cosmos. Nevertheless, the parchments of Worms were not the true results of the quarrel for investiture. In great and far-reaching struggles the original object becomes lost to sight and gives place to a more spiritual and lofty aim. As a struggle of the two principles which represented the intellect of mankind, this—the greatest controversy of the Middle Ages—was one of the most salutary movements which Europe had ever experienced. By means of the power of antagonisms, and by means of the passion which forced all classes to take sides, it raised men above the narrow-mindedness or the stupidity of a barbarous age, put an end to this age and, with the Crusades, served to inaugurate a new civilisation. It was during this struggle that the philosophic and heretical protestant thought awoke, that the science of Roman law revived simultaneously with the love of antiquity, that the republican liberty of the communes flourished, and that civic society acquired an independent, a humaner form. And thus Henry IV. and Gregory VII., as its tragic heroes, and Henry V. and Calixtus II., as the happier founders of peace in this ever-memorable war of principles, have attained their conspicuous places in the annals of history.

Calixtus caused the peace to be ratified at the

Cœcumeni-
cal Council
in the
Lateran,
March
1123.

first general Lateran Council in March 1123, when a greater crowd than Rome had beheld for centuries gathered within her walls. The Council set the seal to the victory of the Church, and the accomplishment of the Gregorian reform. The Papacy had attained its legal independence from the empire, and, resting on the secure foundation of its freedom, recognised by Europe, could henceforward develop its spiritual power into a world power. But after all the peace of Worms (a fact which scarcely any one then grasped) was merely a truce between the powers of the empire and of the Church, which now for the first time recognised each other as the cardinal powers of the world.

For centuries no pope had sat on the chair of Peter who had felt so happy as Calixtus. His success was due no less to his sagacity than to his energy. The landgraves as well as the city obeyed the peace-maker; the strife of factions was stilled, and during his lifetime no battle cry was heard in the ruined streets of Rome.¹ This blissful pause afforded the Pope leisure to provide for the welfare of the city; and after a long interval we again hear of restored aqueducts and city walls, of the building and decoration of some churches.² The condition

¹ Calixtus II. also undertook military expeditions against the defiant Counts of the Campagna, and, as early as the summer of 1121, adjusted in person the affairs of the Church in South Italy. He was in Tarentum in November of this year and in January 1122. Jaffé's *Regesta*.

² *Hic etiam derivavit aquam de antiquis Formis, et ad portam Lateran. conduxit, ibique lacum pro adaquandis equis fieri fecit. Vita ex Card. Aragon.* The water of the Marrana is intended here; it enters the city near the Porta Metronia.

of Rome after the struggle for investitures was sufficiently lamentable; the city lay half in ruins; the violated Temple of Peace, transformed into a military fortress, had suffered a like fate. At a Council Calixtus was obliged expressly to prohibit churches from being fortified like strongholds; he forbade the laity to snatch the votive gifts from the altars, and imposed the sentence of excommunication on any one guilty of maltreating pilgrims to Rome.¹ He perhaps purified the cathedral of the Prince of the Apostles from the stain of its terrible past by a solemn festival; he adorned it with votive gifts, paved its floor, restored the high altar, and provided the basilica with estates.

The Lateran had lain in equally ruinous condition since the days of Robert Guiscard. After Leo IV. scarcely any pope had touched the building, until Calixtus II. began to restore it. He here built a chapel dedicated to S. Nicholas of Bari, in the tribune of which he caused such of his celebrated predecessors, from Alexander II. onwards, as had been champions in the struggle, to be depicted. This oratory served as a monument to all those popes who had fought in the great controversy against the empire. Calixtus, however, also depicted the triumph of the Church in a new audience chamber in the Lateran. Here were painted the portraits of Calixtus himself, Gelasius, Paschalis, Urban, Victor III., Gregory VII., and Alexander II.; below, the series of anti-popes, who served as

Calixtus II.
restores the
Lateran.

¹ *Concil. Lateran. I. Canon XIV. (Ecclesias a laicis incastellari). Canon XVI. (Si quis Romipetas).* Mansi, xxi. 285.

footstools to the popes. Some bad couplets were appended to the portraits, while the tenor of the articles of the Concordat of Worms was inscribed on the wall. Not for centuries had Art had the opportunity of recording so great a subject as the Fifty Years' War and its settlement. The demand on the art of painting was, however, made too early; this art scarcely put forth its first shoot until the time of Giotto; and the ostentatious picture only succeeded in testifying to the barbarism of a period when the popes felt satisfied in seeing the greatest actions of the Church portrayed in rude paintings.¹ These historic memorials of the Papacy and of art unfortunately perished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Death of
Calixtus
II., Dec.
13, 1124.

Fortune was also kind to Calixtus II. in allowing him to die soon after his victory; since he was snatched away by Roman fever in the Lateran on December 13, 1124. He found a fitting grave close to Paschalis II., the peace-maker beside the victim of the war; and no less appropriate was the tomb of Henry V. who, five months later, was laid to rest near his ill-used father in the cathedral of Speyer.

¹ They were merely isolated figures. Panvinus (*de J. Ecclesiis Urbis*, p. 173) calls the painting in this chapel plainly *fadissima pictura*. Thus also in his description of the Lateran, *Mscr. Vatican*, 6110. All the notices concerning this chapel are found in Gattula, *Hist. Cassin.*, i. 362. De Rossi: *Esame storico . . . dell' Immagine di Urbano II. Papa e delle altre antiche pitture nell' oratorio di S. Nicola entro il pal. Lateran.* (*Gli studi in Italia ano IV.*, vol. ii. fasc. i. 2, 1881). The verse under Burdinus runs:—

*Ecce Calixtus honor patria, decus imperiale,
Burdinum nequans damnat, pacemque reformat.*

4. ELECTION CONTEST—THE FAMILY OF THE FRANGIPANI—HONORIUS II. BECOMES POPE—DEATH OF HENRY V.—THE POPE RECOGNISES LOTHAR AS GERMAN KING—THE HOHENSTAUFENS RISE IN ARMS—ROGER OF SICILY SEIZES APULIA—FORCES HONORIUS TO INVEST HIM—DEATH OF HONORIUS II.

The new election threatened for the moment to divide Rome; for the Frangipani now sought to procure the elevation of a cardinal friendly to the Emperor; a proceeding not only possible, but even natural, after the Concordat of Worms. It illustrates the state of things in Rome, that the influence of these audacious captains had been diminished neither by their earlier outrages, nor by the chastisement they had endured at the hands of Calixtus. The popes, who did not possess sufficient power to send such nobles into exile, waged war upon them from time to time, destroyed their towers, and then made peace, and entered into treaties with them. Within the elective realm of the Papacy, the hatred which a pope cherished against enemies who had ill-used him could not be transmitted to his heirs. The rapid change of the popes, each of whom followed his own policy, and each of whom was obliged to win over the noble families, is a sufficient explanation of this condition of affairs.

The powerful family of the Frangipani encounters us for the first time in a document in the year 1014. Their curious name, "Breadbreakers," was explained by the legend that in ancient times one of their ancestors had distributed bread to the poor during

The family
of the
Frangi-
pani.

a time of great famine, and the arms of the family display on a field gules two lions rampant opposed, holding a loaf in their paws.¹ Leo's son Cencius was an influential consul in the time of Gregory VII., and John the son of Cencius was married to Donna Bona, sister of Stephen Normannus. John was the father of that Cencius who attacked Pope Gelasius, and mention has also been made of his brothers Leo and Robert.² We have already seen that the towers and palaces of the Frangipani stood near the Arch of Titus, the Palatine and the Colosseum.³

¹ Thus the fictions in the *Mscr. Ottobon.*, n. 2570, of the sixteenth century, which contain a work of Castallus Metallinus *de nobilibus Romanis*. The author made use of Panvinus, *De Gente Fregepana* (a MS. in the *Bibl. Angelica*). Panvinus also wastes time in trying to prove that the Frangipani were Anicii, and Alberto Cassio has designed the genealogical tree of the Anicii down to Marius the last Frangipani (1654): *Memorie di S. Silvia*, cap. vi.

² The name was written: *Fregapane*, *Frayapanus*, *Frajapanis*, *Frajampane*, *Phrigeapanius*, *Frangipane*, *Frangenspanem*. The Donation of Mathilda says: *in pras. Centii Frajapanis*; this is Leo's son. A tombstone of IOHIS FRAIAPANIS (husband of Donna Bona, father of the second Cencius) exists in S. Cecilia. Another stone there (an effigy of the dead—arms, four lions rampant in four fields, without the loaf): HIC IACET GVIDVTIVS FRAYAPANVS (of the thirteenth century). Panvinus traces the branch *de Gradellis* from Cencius; in Nerini (n. xxviii.), *Oddo Frejapanis de Gradelle* appears in 1243, and it runs: *in porticu Gallatorum ante Eccl. S. Mariae de Gradellis*. The *Mirabilia* say: *Ad Gradellas fuit Templum solis*; the church is to be sought between S. Anastasia at the *Porticus* and the *Forum olitorium*. The *Porticus Gallatorum*, which probably belonged to this Forum, is perhaps the *Porticus Galla* of Peter Pisanus (*Vita Paschalis*, ii. c. 16); whether the name is derived from the church of S. Galla is questionable.

³ The Region of the Colosseum was commanded by the Frangipani in the twelfth century. A document in the Lateran archives, of March 10, 1177, is signed: *Bernardus Gregorii de Gregorio, Petrus Roberti*,

The Frangipani and the Pierleoni were therefore the two families who disputed between themselves for the patriciate, and as heads of the papal and imperial factions ruled the College of Cardinals. It had been decided to proceed with the election three days after the death of Calixtus, without nominating any candidate beforehand. The Frangipani, however, had fixed on Lambert of Ostia, while the people desired Cardinal Saxo of Anagni. Both these bishops were the men of the Concordat of Worms. Leo Frangipani succeeded by stratagem in procuring the attendance of all the cardinals at the election. Nevertheless, Theobald Boccadipecora was with one voice proclaimed Pope by the name of Celestine, such members of the conclave as had remained neutral giving their assent. Robert Frangipani, however, furiously shouted the name of Lambert, who was immediately proclaimed by his party and installed in the Lateran. His opponents made a vain resistance. Theobald, impelled either by fear or by magnanimity, doffed the purple, and Lambert was recognised. The consciousness that his elevation had not been canonical induced him to lay

Disputed
election.

Joan. Mancinus, Andreas Scrinarius, Sasso Oddonis de Saxo, Joan. Cincii, Joan. Iudex, Romanus de Bonella, Joan. Adulterinius, Gregorius Lovaci, Jordanus Albertucius, Nicol. della Scotta, Nicol. Sarracenus, Cencius Velulus, Stephanus Pelliparius, Laurentius Caput Vaca, Joan. Capocius, Nicol. Octaviani, Bovacianus Romani de Ramucio, Petrus Romani, Nicol. Joannis Micini, Bovo Todorelli, Joan. Tinessus Gaudens. They then say: nos omnes suprascripti homines pro nobis et aliis hominibus regionis Colossei—auctoritate dominor. de Frangenspanibus quicquid juris—habemus in caena domini in oblationibus altaris majoris Eccl. Lateran., they cede this to some canons of the basilica (Mscr. Parvini, p. 254).

aside the insignia of the pontificate, but only in order to obtain its ratification by unanimous consent, for the hostile cardinals prudently gave way. We thus see that the decrees of Nicholas II. and his successors had not removed the papal election beyond the influence of the civic nobility: the kings of the Romans surrendered their ancient right; the Roman consuls, however, continued to elect popes either by cunning or by force.¹

Honorius
II., Pope,
1124-1130.

Lambert, who had been made a cardinal in the time of Paschalis, had accompanied Gelasius in his exile, and had been the ablest minister of Calixtus II., was the man who had settled the peace of Worms; and this great service gave him claims to the Papacy. He was consecrated as Honorius II. on December 21, 1124. But his humble origin in Fagnano, an insignificant place near Imola, was a blot in the eyes of those who had honoured the princely descent of Calixtus. "I do not know," said the Abbot of Monte Casino to the envoys of the new Pope, "whose son his holiness is; I only know that he is filled with literature from head to foot."²

The astute Honorius, however, knew how to acquire respect quickly. No insurrection in Rome disturbed his five years' pontificate, his close alliance with the Frangipani ensuring him security. The

¹ These events are related by Pandulf, an eye-witness, *Vita Honorii*, c. 2; see also Card. Aragon. and Petrus Diacon., iv. c. 83.

² Petr. Diacon., iv. 83. Concerning the ancestry and native country of Honorius II., see Liverani, *Lamberto da Fagnano*, Macerata, 1859.

fact that Henry V. died childless further strengthened the Papacy; the vigorous Salic race was now extinct, and instead of a member of the Hohenstaufen family (Henry's heirs) being raised to the throne, the Saxon Lothar was, owing to Roman influence, elected King, and was crowned on September 13. It is true, Conrad and Frederick, sons of Henry's sister Agnes, rose in arms; but they did not succeed in enforcing their claims. Honorius himself hastened to recognise Lothar as King of the Romans, and so completely had opinion changed in the course of time, that the Pope, whose own election had formerly been subject to the ratification of the crown, was now able to assume the right of ratifying the Roman or German king. We thus perceive how, owing to Gregory VII., the conception of the Papacy had risen in estimation as that of the highest moral forum even in the political world.

He
recognises
Lothar II.

Honorius II. excommunicated the Hohenstaufens, in whom he foresaw the renewal of the struggle for investitures: he repeated the excommunication in 1128, when Conrad came to Milan as pretender to the crown. Many Lombard cities acknowledged him, and he was even crowned at Monza by Archbishop Anselm on July 29. His kingdom, however, had no stability, and merely served for a brief time to perplex the affairs of Northern Italy. The Romans, whose favour he endeavoured to gain, repudiated him, and on the contrary united with Honorius in inviting Lothar to Rome to be crowned Emperor.¹

The
Hohen-
staufen
Conrad
rival king.

¹ *Lothario ill. et glor. Romanor. regi, consules romani et alii prin-*

Roger of
Sicily sets
up as Duke
of Apulia.

More important were events in South Italy, where great changes had taken place. In July 1127 Roger's son William, Duke of Apulia, died at Salerno, mourned by the entire people, and, like Henry V., childless. His relative, Count Roger of Sicily, could now regard himself as the natural heir of his territories, and in fact maintained that William had recognised him as heir. The young and daring prince, who had succeeded his father, Roger I., while yet a child (in 1101), seized the opportunity to unite the whole of Southern Italy; since of all the former estates Capua, under Jordan II., and Naples, ruled by Duke Sergius, alone remained independent.¹ As Roger now hastened to Apulia to take possession of Salerno and Amalfi, and received the homage of several cities, the Pope resolved to prevent the foundation of a South Italian monarchy. To Roger's claims he opposed the feudal sovereignty of the Papacy: he explained that William's estates had reverted to the sacred chair. He hastened to Benevento; Roger, whom he had excommunicated, indignant at the Pope's refusal to invest him with Apulia as a vassal of the Church,

cipes salutem et prosperitatem. Nos in servitio et fidelitate b. Petri et domini P. Honorii persistimus, et quod placet ei amamus. It is the last time that Romans speak thus . . . *Nos interim diligenti studio operam dabimus, quatenus—pop. Rom. ad te sicut decet honorifice suscipiendum sis paratus.* Without a date—*Cod. Udalr.*, n. 351. Conrad had in vain attempted to approach Rome: see Jaffé, *Gesch. des deutschen Reichs unter Lothar*, Berlin, 1843, p. 71.

¹ *Giannone II.*, x. c. 10. For the death of William (*VII. Kal. Aug.*, 1127) see Falco, p. 101, who naïvely describes Roger's arrival and the subsequent events. *Alexandri Abbatis Telesini Hist. de reb. gestis Rogerii Sicilia Regis*, lib. i. c. 4 (Muratori, v.).

ravaged the province of Benevento. In December 1127 Honorius convoked bishops and barons to a parliament in Capua; he bestowed this principality in fief on Robert II., son of Jordan, who had just died, and summoned the assembly to make war on the usurper.

The bold prince, however, could afford to laugh at the crusade which Honorius preached against him, and could calmly wait until the army of the barons was disbanded.¹ The history of Leo IX. repeated itself. As Roger followed on the heels of the deserted Pope, he offered peace, and the count forced the Holy Father to come outside the city, and, standing on the bridge over the river Calore, to bestow upon him the feudal lordship of Apulia and Calabria in August 1128.²

Roger
forces
recognition
from
Honorius
II., August
1128.

The Church was not able to prevent the foundation of the Neapolitan monarchy. This important event, as we shall later see, changed the policy of Italy and that of the popes. From the peace with Roger, Honorius, however, reaped the immediate advantage of receiving feudal supremacy over South Italy.

Such were the events which afforded him incessant occupation, so that he remained in constant motion between Rome and Apulia, deeply involved

¹ Thus the popes already stamped their political wars as holy wars. *Ex auctoritate div. et B. M. virginis, et Sanctor. Apostolor. meritis, talem eis imperavit retributionem, eorum vid., qui delictor. suor. penitentiam sumiserint, si in expeditione illa morientur, peccata remisit, illorum autem, qui ibi mortui non fuerint, et confessi sunt, medietatem remisit.* Falco, p. 104.

² Romuald, p. 284 (Murat., vii.)

in secular affairs—a statesman rather than a priest. The Frangipani secured his rule in Rome, and provided him with the means of holding in check the captains of the Campagna, more especially the Counts of Segni and Ceccano.¹ Honorius II., no less than Paschalis, proved by experience how heavy was the burthen of the temporal power for the popes. We should, however, produce a revolting picture did we describe the petty wars which he repeatedly waged against the lords of Latium. In his last illness he was carried to the fortified monastery of S. Gregory on the Clivus Scauri: for the popes of this age ended their days in towers and amid the swords of their partisans. The pale face of the dying man looked from the window where he was placed down on the tumultuous crowd, who already believed him dead; he saw the factions quarrel for the papal crown before it had yet fallen from his head, and expired during the night of 13th–14th February 1130.² It was usual on the death of a pope to delay the election of his successor until after the funeral, but the tumults to which an election gave rise frequently did not permit of the delay. The remains of Honorius were scarcely cold, when they were hurried into an open grave in the monastery, in order that the faction here assembled might proceed

Death of
Honorius
II., Feb.
14, 1130.

¹ The *Chronicle of Fossanova* throws light on these wars in the Campagna. It mentions the still remaining Volscian towns: Supino, Magentia (Mænza), Aqueputia (Torre Acquapuzza), Roccasecca, Julianum, S. Stephanum, Proseum (Prossedi), Tertium (Pisterzo), S. Laurentum. Honorius conquered them, also Trevi and Segni (Card. Aragon).

² Mühlbacher, *Die streitige Papstwahl des Jahres 1130*, p. 101.

with the election. The corpse was further removed with unseemly haste to S. John's, and the dead and the newly-elected Pope entered the Lateran at the same time.¹

¹ Such is the account in the letter of the followers of Anacleto to Didacus of Compostella (Florez, *España Sagrada*, xx. 513), and it can hardly be wholly untrue: *per laicorum manus mortuus miserabiliter deferitur sicut vilissima bestia in claustrum trahitur, et in vilissimum sepulcrum immergitur*. No monument of Honorius remained in Rome. San Crisogono in Trastevere, rebuilt in 1128, is the monument of the victor of Burdinus, Cardinal John of Crema, who took his title from this church. Severano, *Memorie*, p. 314.

CHAPTER III.

- I. THE PIERLEONI — THEIR JEWISH DESCENT — THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE IN ROME IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY—PETRUS, LEO AND HIS SON, THE CARDINAL PETRUS—SCHISM BETWEEN INNOCENT II. AND ANACLETE II.—INNOCENT ESCAPES TO FRANCE—LETTER OF THE ROMANS TO LOTHAR—ANACLETE II. BESTOWS THE TITLE OF KING OF SICILY ON ROGER I.

A SCHISM of purely civic origin was to prove to the world that the German kings were not invariably responsible for ecclesiastical divisions. The wealth and power of the Pierleoni, and still more the great services they had rendered the Church, justified the hope which they cherished of seeing a member of their house on the papal throne. Their distinguished family was of Jewish extraction, and this singular fact induces us to bestow a glance on the synagogue in Rome.

The Jews
in Rome.

The Hebrew colony, established in Trastevere and round the island bridge since the time of Pompey, survived through all the storms of history. An insignificant company of Jews was here tolerated as a monumental symbol of the manner in which Christianity was rooted in the Old Testament. The Jews were consequently treated with more humanity in Rome than in other cities during the Middle

Ages. They transmitted their blood unmixed with the blood of Romans or barbarians from generation to generation; they beheld the republic of ancient Rome, Roman Cæsarism, the immense city of marble, and a second Frankish empire fall to dust beside them: more indestructible than monuments of bronze, they survived the frightful Nemesis of the centuries; and to this day they continue to pray to Jehovah, the God of Abraham and Moses, in the same streets beside the Tiber. Their number, which in the interval between the Spanish persecution under Philip II. and present times, has risen to five thousand souls, in the twelfth century merely amounted to some hundreds. The Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Rome in the time of Alexander III., only counted two hundred Jews of the male sex; he assures us, however, that among his fellow-worshippers he discovered many influential persons even at the papal court, and very wise rabbis such as Daniel, Jehiel, Joab, Nathan, Menahem, and other Hebrews in Trastevere.¹ We see the Jews issue

¹ Benj. of Tudela, *Itinerar.*: *hic ducenti ferme Judei viri honorati, nemini tributum pendentes, inter quos suos habet magistros P. Alexander.* He calls the rabbi Jehiel (*trans Tiberim habitans*) *Papæ minister, juv. formosus, prudens ac sapiens—in aula Papæ—ipsius facultatum administrator.* Rabbi Nathan had compiled Aruch, a Talmudic dictionary, in 1101; his father Jehiel wrote liturgical poems. A. Asher, English translation of Benjamin's *Itinerary* (London, 1840), ii. p. 18, and M. Gûdemann, *Gesch. des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien*, Wien, 1884. Benjamin found 300 Jews in Marseilles, 300 in Capua, 500 in Naples, 600 in Salerno, 20 in Amalfi, 200 in Benevento, 200 in Melfi, 300 in Tarento, 500 in Otranto, 200 in Messina, 1500 in Palermo, 2000 in Byzantium, and as great a number in Thebes.

from the darkness, in which their Schola is involved, when on festivals of homage they sing their hymns, and only once is a persecution of the Jews recorded.¹ The enslaved race defended itself against its oppressors by cunning, talent, and the power of the gold which they had amassed in secret. The most renowned physicians, the richest money-changers in Rome were Jews. Dwelling in miserable houses, they lent money at usury, and among their creditors they numbered the most illustrious consuls among the Romans, and even the harassed popes themselves.

The Jewish
family
of the
Piericoni.

From this despised synagogue a senatorial family at length issued, which owed both fortune and power to usury. The grandfather of that Peter Leonis who played so prominent a part during the quarrel for investitures, still remained a Jew in Trastevere. He had had, however, financial transactions with the papal court, to whose necessities he had frequently ministered. He had afterwards consented to be baptised, and having become a Christian was known as Benedictus Christianus. Wealth and ability soon opened the most illustrious career to his ambitious son Leo, who received his baptismal name from Pope Leo IX. He became connected by marriage with the Roman nobility, who coveted the wealthy daughters of Israel for their sons, or consented to

¹ A. 1020, in consequence of an earthquake. The Pope ordered some to be executed : Ademar, *Hist.*, iii. c. 52. The *Ordo Rom.* of Cencius (*sæc.* xii.) mentions their schola among the seventeen which received a gift on days of festival : *Judeis viginti solidos proovesinor.* At papal processions they stood *juxta palatium Cramacii, ubi Judæi faciunt laudem*, not far from Monte Giordano (Mabillon *Mus.*, ii. 143).

their own daughters marrying the baptised sons of Jews.¹ With the fanaticism of a renegade, Leo joined the party of Hildebrand and the popes who advocated reform; whereupon his more energetic son Peter Leonis or Pier Leoni acquired the highest political influence, and became entirely indispensable.² Besides his fortress at the Theatre of Mar-

Petrus
Leonis.

¹ Arnulf's invective (*M. Germ.*, xii. 711) against Anacleto II. : *cujus avus cum inestimab. pecuniam multiplici corrogasset usura—circumcisionem baptismatis unda dampnavit. — Factus dignitate Romanus — dum genus et formam regina pecunia donat, alternis matrimoniis omnes sibi nobiles civitatis ascrivit.* Benzo (ii. c. 4) who knew Leo personally : *Leone, originaliter procedente de Judaica congregatione.* S. Bernh., Ep. 139 : *Judaicam sobolem sedem Petri occupasse.* Thus Archbishop Walter of Ravenna (*Mansi*, xxi. 434) speaks of the schism of Anacleto as *Judaica perfidia heresis.* Baron. (*A.* 1111, n. 3) took from the Codex of Monte Casino, which contains the poems of Alfano, an epitaph written by this archbishop on the founder of the house of Pierleone :—

*Hic jacet in tumulo Leo vir per cuncta fidelis
Sedis Apostolicæ tempore quo vixit.
Roma natus, opum dives, probus et satis alto
Sanguine materno nobilitatus erat.
Prudens et sapiens, et cælo pene sub omni
Agnitus et celebris semper in Urbe manens.
Virgo ter senis fuerat cum sole diebus
Quando suum vita finierat spatium.*

Leo was probably buried in S. Alessio, and the inscription (in Galletti, vii. n. 4), *HIC REQUIESCIT CORPVS DOPNI LEONIS CONSVL' ROMANORVM*, probably belongs to him. The Rothschild of the Middle Ages, made a Roman baron by the Pope, who was in his debt.

² *Chron. Maurin.* (Duchesne, iv. 376) : *Leo a Judaismo pascha faciens ad Christum, a Leone baptisari et ejus nomine meruit insigniri. Hic vir—in Curia Rom. magnificus, genuit fil. Petrum, magne fame, magnæque potentie post futurum.* Ord. Vitalis (p. 861) jeers at the Jewish aspect of his grandson Leo at the Synod at Rheims in 1119 : *nigrum et pallidum adolescentem, magis Judæo vel Agareno, quam*

cellus (which had undoubtedly been already built by his father Leo), he also ruled over the neighbouring island in the Tiber. Urban II. even confided S. Angelo to his keeping, and himself died in the palace of his creditor and defender. Urban's successors also strove to acquire the protection of the powerful Pierleone. But the Jew was hated as a usurer by the populace, by the nobles as an upstart, and we have seen that this influential friend of Paschalis II. was unable to acquire the prefecture for his son. The friendship of the popes, the splendour of their family connections, their gold, and their power so quickly obscured the Jewish descent of the Pierleoni, that these upstarts soon gained the reputation of being the most illustrious of princely houses in the city. After the time of Leo they bore the title of "Consul of the Romans" as proudly and successfully as the oldest patricians.¹ They were at enmity with the Frangipani, who, from motives of hatred and egotism, were Ghibelline and imperialist, while the Pierleoni became the leaders of the papal party. These two hostile families had each been founded by a Leo, had each risen to power at the same time. It was later rumoured that both Frangi-

Christiano similem — a brother of Anacleto, who, according to Arnulf, also looked like a Jew.

¹ Not until the son of Pierleone became Pope was his Jewish ancestry spoken of. The *Vite* of the Popes do not mention it. Anselm, the continuator of Sigbert, calls Peter *altitudine sanguinis glorians*. The *Gesta Treveror.* (*Mon. Germ.*, x. 200): *fatione nobilium Romanor., quor. ipse propinquitate pollebat*. Eadmerus, *Hist. Novor.*, vi. 137: *erat enim filius Petri praeclarissimi ac potentiss. Principis Romanor.* Romuald calls him *fil. Petri Leonis nob. civem Romanum*.

pani and Pierleoni were descendants of the Anicii, and in the fifteenth century it was related how two brothers of a certain Pierleone Massimo, so-called Count of the Aventine, had wandered to Germany, and had there founded the house of Habsburg. Even the Austrian emperors were gratified in being accounted relations of the Pierleoni, until they discovered that in this case they had to search for their ancestors in the Roman Ghetto.¹

Peter Leo died covered with honours on June 2, 1128. The tombs of the popes of these times fell to decay, but accident has preserved the mausoleum of the Jewish Crassus as carefully as the sarcophagus of Cæcilia Metella. A huge marble coffin of the worst Roman period, adorned with the figures of Apollo, Marsyas, and the Muses, stands in the cloisters of S. Paul. This was the tomb of Pierleone, whom the inscription—truly Jewish—extols as “a man without an equal, immeasurably rich in money and children.”² He left numerous descendants, and

Tomb of
Petrus
Leonis.

¹ The fabulous *Comites Montis Aventini* became (translated into German) Counts of Habsburg. These are fables from the time of Sansovino, Volaterranus, Crescenzi, Zazzera, Arnold Wion, Panvinus, Kircher, &c. An inscription in S. Maria della Consolazione of the year 1852 says: *Lucretia de Pierleonibus Luce de Pierleonibus J. V. D. Filia nobiliss. Romanor. et Austriae gentis sola relicta, &c.* The last heiress of the house loudly trumpeted the glories of her ancestry. She placed a pompous epitaph on the founder of the family in S. Paul's: *Sepulcrum Petri Leonis Montis Aventini Comitis ex Anicia mox Perleonia stirpe, &c.*

² *Te Petrus et Paulus servant Petre Leonis,
Dent animam celo quos tam devotus amasti,
Et quibus est idem tumulus sit gloria tecum.*

Ugonio read another inscription of the time, which I cannot find now:—

so marvellous was their fortune, that one of his sons became Pope, another Patrician of the Romans, and it was said that a daughter married Roger of Sicily.

His son
Peter a
candidate
for the
Papacy.

He had destined his son Peter for an ecclesiastical office. Could the violet robe of a cardinal be denied him? Was the thought of the red papal mantle beyond the daring imagination of a wealthy son of Pierleone? The youthful Peter was sent to Paris, where he doubtless became one of Abelard's hearers. His studies ended, he took the cowl (still the most desirable garb for a candidate for the Papacy) in Cluny. At his father's wish Paschalis summoned him to Rome, and made him Cardinal-deacon of S. Cosma and Damiano. With one of his brothers he accompanied Gelasius to France, returned with Calixtus, and in December 1120 became Cardinal-

*Præterit ut fumus princeps seu rex opulentus,
Et nos ut fumus pulvis et ossa sumus.
In tantisque bonis pollens Petrus ecce Leonis,
Respice quam modico nunc tegitur tumulo.
Vir fuit immensus quem proles, gloria, census
Sustulit in vita, non sit ut alter ita.
Legum servator, patrie decus, urbis amator,
Extruxit celsis turribus astra poli.
Omnia præclara mors obtenebravit amara,
Nominis ergo Dei gratia parcat ai.
Junius in mundo fulgebat sole secundo,
Separat hunc nobis cum solus hicque lapis*

The inscription of Lucretia Perleonia (Nerini, p. 395) gives 1128 as the year of her death; Baronius wrongly 1144, since Anaclete II. already speaks of his father as *ob. m.* in a letter of 1130. The later burial-place of the family was partly S. Nicola in Carcere, partly S. Angelo in Pescaria, where, before the destruction of the church, I saw a stone in front of the door with the arms of the family in mosaic: Party per pale (1) or, a lion rampant lozengy, argent and sable; (2) barry of six, gules and argent.

priest of S. Maria in the same Trastevere to which his family owed their origin. He was later legate in France, where he held synods, and in England, where, solemnly received by King Henry, he appeared with princely pomp. The son of the powerful Pierleone lacked neither self-respect, culture, nor intellect, and if, as his adversaries accused him of doing, he collected vast treasures as nuncio, he only followed the example of almost every other cardinal-legate. His bitter enemies afterwards overwhelmed him with invectives; but, even although the reproach of ambition, avarice, and sensuality may justly be brought against him, the revolting picture drawn of his character was, nevertheless, untrue.¹ Certain it is that not only by his wealth and family connections, but also in virtue of his highly-gifted personality, Cardinal Pierleone was the greatest man in Rome.

His adherents hoped to see him wear the papal crown; the influence of money assured him the votes of numerous clients; Cardinal Peter of Portus was the leader of his party in the sacred college, while his opponents, headed by the Chancellor Haimeric and by John of Crema, and protected by the Frangipani, placed the name of Gregory of S.

¹ Eadmerus, vi. 137; Ernald (*Vita S. Bernardi*, Op. ii. c. 1, 1107, ed. Mabillon). Arnulf's invective even accused him of incest with his sister Tropea. The letter of Bishop Manfred of Mantua to Lothar contains similar accusations, Neugart, *Cod. Dipl. Alem.*, ii. 63, in Watterich, ii. 275. The respectful letter which Bernard is said to have addressed to Anaclete, while he was yet a cardinal (Jaffé, *Gesch. des deutschen Reichs unter Lothar*, p. 89), is addressed to another Cardinal Peter, so that Bernard has expressed no judgment in favour of Anaclete.

Twofold
election :
Innocent
II. and
Anacleto
II., Feb.
14, 1130.

Angelo on the election register. It had originally been decided to leave the election to eight cardinals, among whom was Peter. But scarcely was Honorius dead when five of the electors met in secret in S. Gregory's on the Clivus Scauri, where the proximity of the Frangipani fortress afforded them safety. On February 14 they here proclaimed Cardinal Gregory as Innocent II., and his party, which numbered altogether only sixteen of the younger cardinals, some citizens, and the Frangipani and Corsi, hailed him Pope.¹ The proceeding was entirely contrary to law, and Gregory's action was altogether uncanonical. His opponents consequently hastened a few hours later to the church of S. Marco, near which stood the fortified quarter of the Pierleoni ; and the greater part of the cardinals, the larger portion of the citizens, almost the entire nobility, the Tebaldi, Stefani, Berizo, the S. Eustachii, and the Palatine judges, under the presidency of the dean of the cardinals, elected the son of Pierleone as Anacleto II. in all canonical form.²

The two pretenders to the Papacy, elected on the same day, stood towards one another like Jacob and Esau, disputing the rights of primogeniture. The

¹ *Cod. Udalr.*, 346

² Peter of Portus cried to his opponents : *siccine didicistis Papam eligere? in angulo—in tenebris, in umbra mortis—contempto canone—me inconsulto Priore vestro*, whereas they had made the election *in luce, in manifesto* (Letter to the four suburbican bishops, Baron., n. ix.). On the other hand, see *Cod. Udalr.*, n. 346, and the Report of Election from Innocent's followers to Lothar, n. 352 ; the manifesto of Innocent himself, n. 353 (Mansi, xxi. 428), in which Anacleto is represented as a monster.

faction of Cardinal Gregory had surreptitiously obtained for their candidate the blessing of the first-born, but almost the entire city and district did homage to Anacleto II.¹ The spectacle presented by two popes, each of whom seized in turn the sacred chair the moment it was left vacant by the other, was nothing new. The people rushed to arms. Innocent II. was quickly installed in the Lateran. A few days after his election, however, he fled to the Palladium, the Frangipani fortress on the Palatine.² Anacleto II., supported by his brothers, Leo, Jordan, Roger, Huguizon, and by numerous clients, marched to S. Peter's, burst open the doors, had himself consecrated Pope by Peter of Portus, took the Lateran by assault, seated himself on the papal chair inside the church, proceeded to S. Maria Maggiore and seized its treasures. The city resounded with the din of civil war, while a thousand hands were eagerly stretched forth to grasp the fortune which was scattered by the golden meteor

¹ Anselm, continuator of Sigbert: *Gregorius privileg. electionis ab Honorio p. adhuc vivente consensu quorund. cardinal. sibi usurpat; Petrus altitudine sanguinis glorians, domum Crescentii invadit cadibus — incendiis grassatur. Chron. Maurin.* says of Innocent's party: *nimis festinanter, ut a quibusd. dicitur, pontificalib. induunt insignib.,* because Peter openly aspired to the Papacy (p. 376). The election proceedings have been investigated by R. Zöpffel: *Die Papstwahlen*, &c., Göttingen, 1871, and by E. Mühlbacher, *Die Streitige Papstwahl des Jahres 1130*, Innsbruck, 1876.

² *Palladium (Pallara)*; the cardinals date: *apud Palladium XII. Kal. Mart.* (February 18)—*post hac palladium, in quo Dom. noster P. Innocentius — residebat, aggreditur.* (*Cod. Udalr.*, 352.) He was consecrated as Pope in S. Maria Nova on February 23. (Pagi, A. 1130, n. v., and Jaffé); Anacleto in S. Peter's on the same day.

Anaclete. And amid the tumultuous procession that greeted him as Pope, we observe the members of the Jewish synagogue, ranged beside the legendary palace of Chromatius, the rabbi with the huge veiled roll of the Pentateuch at their head; and we may imagine that the children of Israel had never hitherto greeted any pope with hymns of malicious congratulation so sincere.¹

Struggle
between
the two
Popes and
their
adherents.

Anaclete had gained Rome, and the adhesion of so many distinguished cardinals and nobles gave him full right to the Papacy. True, the attack on the Palladium had failed; but Innocent saw the gold of his enemy work its way through the walls. He fled to Trastevere in April or May, and there hid himself within the towers of his family, while Anaclete calmly celebrated Easter in S. Peter's, excommunicated his rival, deposed the hostile cardinals, and created others in their stead. The final defection of the Frangipani, who were unable to resist the gold of Pierleone, left Innocent defenceless. No choice remained but flight. He secretly took ship on the Tiber, and, like Gelasius, escaped to France by way of Pisa and Genoa.²

Innocent
II. escapes
to France.

It now remained to be seen to which of the two

¹ The opposite party said that Anaclete had sacked the churches, and *Judeos ajunt esse quasitos, qui sacra vasa, et imagines deo dicatos audacter comminuerent* (*Vita S. Bern.*, ii. c. 1). The letters of the opposition, *Cod. Udal.*, 345, 352, 353, and Cardinal Aragon. Such excesses were undoubtedly committed, although Peter of Portus denies them: *degradationem illam et crudelitatem, quam prætenditis, non videmus*. Letter to the four cardinal-bishops.

² He had previously announced his elevation to the German King, and summoned him to come to Rome. *Trans Tyberim V. Id. Maji*, *Cod. Udalr.*, 353.

pretenders Christendom would award its recognition. Innocent, like his enemy, was of Trasteverine origin; he belonged, however, to the ancient house of the Papareschi. He had been a cardinal-legate as early as the time of Urban II., was the mediator of the peace of Worms, and had learning and sincere piety in his favour.¹ The priority of his election—uncanonical though it may have been—gave him an advantage over Anaclete; his flight to the asylum of Catholic popes made him appear an exile, his opponent a usurper; Germany, England, and France, a great part of Italy, all the monastic orders, with but little delay recognised him as Innocent II. The world suddenly remembered with scorn the origin of the Pierleoni, and forgot their services to the Church. But Jewish features should scarcely have redounded to the discredit of a pope, had the fact been remembered that not only Peter and Paul, but

¹ The *Lives of the Popes* call his father John from Trastevere; his later epitaph: *de domo Paparescorum*. A family De Papa or Paparoni is found as early as the tenth century. A. 975, *Johes de Papa de septem viis*; A. 1079, *Odde de Papa*. In the time of Benedict VIII., *Joh. qui Paparome vocor* (Galletti, *Mscr. Vat.*, 8042, concerning this family). Panvinius ("History of the Mattei Family" in the *Arch. of S. Croce*) wrongly makes the De Papa derive their name from Innocent II.; he says this family also bore the name of Romani; and after 1300 put forth a branch—the Mattei. Romanus de Papa was a courtier of Innocent II. (Document of April 4, 1139, Mansi, xxi. n. 542); his son was Cencius Romani de Papa, who had numerous descendants (Muratori, *Ant. It.*, ii. 809). The towers of the Papareschi still stood in the fifteenth century near S. Maria in Trastevere, a church which had been restored by Innocent II. A. 1442: *contrata qua dicitur li Papareschi in parocchia S. Calisti* (*Mscr. Vat.*, 8051, 125). Tombstones of the family were to be seen in S. Giacomo de Septimiano.

Jesus Himself, must have worn a more distinctly Jewish aspect than Anaclete. Even the adhesion of Rome (he undoubtedly offered great privileges to the city) more probably served as a sentence of condemnation than a claim to favour. We still read the urgent, and in part undignified, letters which he sent to all quarters of the world striving to obtain recognition.¹ As early as May 1 he wrote to Lothar;² the King made no reply; in vain Anaclete tried to win him by excommunicating the rival king, Conrad; he still remained silent.³ The excited letters of the cardinals and the Romans were also left unanswered.

The
Romans
write to
Lothar.

The Romans politely implored the ratification of

¹ The thirty-eight letters of Anaclete are contained in the beautiful parchment Codex of M. Casino, n. 159, *sac.* xiv. They were edited from another codex by Christian Lupus, T. vii. Oper. Venet., 1724. With the exception of the first series these fragments (mostly without a date) are devoid of historic value.

² *Dat. Romæ apud S. Petr. Kal. Maji*, thus in the Cod. of M. Casino. It recalls the ancient friendship of the King, especially between him *et b. m. patrem meum*.—*Sane clerus omnis Rom. individua nobis charitate cohæret; Præfectus Urbis, Leo Fraiapanis cum filio et Cencio Fraiapanis et nobiles omnes ac plebs omnis Romana consuetam nobis fidelitatem fecerunt*. In the letter of the Romans of May 18, and in Anaclete's second letter, the Prefect is called Hugo. Peter was still Prefect in the time of Honorius (Galletti, *Del Prim.*, n. 57). Hugo may, however, have been the brother of Anaclete. According to a document cited by Contelorus, the Prefect in office during the first year of Anaclete II. was called Uguccio.

³ The second letter (*ap. S. Petr. Idib. Maji*) says that he possessed the whole of Rome in peace, and that he had excommunicated Conrad on Easter Thursday. A letter to the Queen follows, filled with nauseating unction. At the same time he heaps invectives on Cardinal Haimeric and John of Crema. Similarly in the letter of the cardinals.

their Pope. They, however, reproached the King for not having vouchsafed them a reply, and declared that they would refuse him the imperial crown did he longer delay to recognise Anaclete. "If thou," they wrote, "wilt receive the glorious fasces of the Roman empire, thou must conform to the laws of Rome, and not disturb the harmony of thy citizens. For thou dost not awaken such sympathy in us that we attach any great importance to thy coronation : only since we have known the attachment of the Pope to thy person, do we wish thee well, and desire to adorn thy purple with worthy honours."¹ The Romans felt themselves independent towards a German king who did not possess the hereditary right of the Salic house, and who was even opposed by a rival king. True, they recognised the now traditional claim of German kings to the imperial crown, by awarding them the title of "King of the Romans," but they resolutely maintained that the crown was dependent on the election of the Roman people. Their haughty language already breathed the republican spirit which was in process of vigorous development in the Lombard cities, and had begun to stir in Rome.

¹ *Dom. Lothario glorioso ac triumphatori Romanor. regi Hugo prefectus urbis, et fratres ejus* (thus in the Cod. M. Casin. and in Lupus, and not *frater*), *Leo Freiapane, et Cencius frater ejus, Stephanus de Tebaldo, Albertus Johis, de Stephano, Stephanus de Herizo, Berizo frater ejus, Heinricus fil. Heinrici de sco Eustachio, Octavianus frater ejus, et reliqui Rom. urbis potentes, sacri quoque palatii judices et nostri consules et plebs omnis Romana salutem. . . . Acta Roma feliciter XV. Kal. Junii.* I therefore hold that *Hugo prefectus urbis et fratres ejus* here signifies the Pierleoni, who would otherwise be omitted in the enumeration.

When the silence of the world showed Anaclete that he was rejected, he looked around in search of a confederate. The former parties had suffered the most curious changes after the Concordat of Worms. The King of Germany and his former adherents in Italy now stood ranged under the Catholic and French banner; the Normans, who had formerly supported this banner, now deserted it, as natural enemies of the empire. Anaclete, however, followed the ancient policy of the popes, when he allied himself with the Duke of Apulia. Roger's monarchy lacked nothing but the recognised title of kingdom, which had already been given it by his parliament. Anaclete offered the papal sanction as the price of the duke's recognition, and Roger accepted the offer, the ideas of the time compelling him to believe in the necessity of such consecration. Anaclete formed a defensive and offensive alliance with the duke at Benevento and Avellino in September; the cardinal legate immediately hastened to Palermo and anointed Roger as King of Sicily on Christmas day 1130, Robert II. of Capua handing him the crown. Thus was the Sicilian monarchy founded through the instrumentality of a schismatic pope. Surviving the most marvellous changes of fortune, the fair kingdom endured for 730 years, until in our own days it was overthrown in the same romantic fashion as that in which it had been created by Norman heroes.¹

Anaclete
II. makes
Roger I.
King of
Sicily,
1130.

¹ Falco, A. 1130; Petr. Diacon., iv. c. 99. The Diploma of Investiture is dated *Benevent. per man. Saxonis S. R. E. presbyteri Cardinalis, V. Kal. Octobr. Ind. IX. anno Dom. Incarn. 1130, Pont.*

2. S. BERNARD LABOURS TO OBTAIN THE RECOGNITION OF INNOCENT II. IN FRANCE—LOTHAR PROMISES TO CONDUCT HIM TO ROME—JOURNEY OF THE POPE AND LOTHAR TO ROME—COURAGEOUS DEMEANOUR OF ANACLETE II.—LOTHAR CROWNED EMPEROR—HIS RETURN HOME—INNOCENT EXPELLED FOR THE SECOND TIME—COUNCIL IN PISA—ROGER I. CONQUERS APULIA—LOTHAR'S SECOND JOURNEY TO ITALY—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE EMPEROR—RETURN AND DEATH OF LOTHAR.

Innocent II. meanwhile remained in France, where he obtained almost universal recognition. His protector was a saint of world-wide fame, Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux. The Church had reason to be proud of the wealth of forces which she developed in succession to complete the laborious structure of the hierarchy, and Bernard, the genius of his age, belongs to the ranks of her greatest men. When the Cluniac period had run its course, monasticism found in Bernard a new reformer, and this in an age when, thanks to the knightly orders of Palestine, monasticism had become a political power. Bernard was born at Fontaine near Dijon in 1091 : in 1113 he became a monk in the Benedictine convent of Cîteaux

S. Bernard gains adherents to the cause of Innocent II.

Dom. Anacleti II. Papæ anno I. (Baronius, n. lii.). It is signed by brothers and relatives of Anaclete : *signum man. Petr. Leonis Romanor. Consulis . . . Rogerii fratris ejus . . . Peter Uguiccionis filii . . . et Petri Leonis de Fundis*. Huguizon was the brother of Anaclete. According to Ordericus Vital., xiii. p. 898, Roger had even married a sister of Anaclete : *filiam Petri Leonis, sororem Anacleti Pontificis uxorem duxit*. This, however, may be untrue ; Roger had several wives. Anaclete boldly invested him also with Capua and Naples.

or Cistercium, which had been founded about 1098. The ascetic austerity of the Cistercians suited the character of the youth; he aided in founding the convent of Clairvaux near Chalons-sur-Marne. He became the abbot of this institution in 1115, and was henceforth celebrated as the worker of miracles, the oracle and the apostle of the strictest monasticism. In the course of time he founded 160 monasteries of his order in every land of Europe. But his active spirit could not remain buried in lonely solitudes; on the contrary, with practical energy he exercised an influence on all the political and ecclesiastical affairs of his time.¹

Lothar
acknow-
ledges
Innocent
II.

Bernard it was, who won Lewis of France to the cause of Innocent. He also won the German king, whom the Pope went to meet at Liége in March 1131, and who after some hesitation gave his adhesion. A prince endowed with ambition and genius must necessarily have hesitated before recognising Innocent, since in espousing his cause he became umpire between two popes and placed the sacred chair in the position which Gregory VII. had formerly prepared for the monarchy. An astute statesman would have profited by the opportunity to recover the in-

¹ The age of Gregory VII. and of the Crusades was productive of monastic orders. Bruno of Cologne, Canon of Rheims, founded the Carthusians (Chartreuse near Grenoble, 1084). Norbert founded the Præmonstratensians (Premontré near Laon) about 1120; Berthold, a Calabrian, the Carmelites on Mount Carmel, about 1156.—Orders of chivalry: the Knights of S. John were founded by merchants of Amalfi, and obtained ratification from Paschalis II. in 1113. The Templars, founded about 1118, were ratified by Honorius II. The German knights were founded about 1190.

vestiture, which Lothar had permitted the German bishops to reduce even below the limits established by the articles of Worms. The King did not, however, accept the traditions of the Frankish house, which was hostile to him; he would not venture on any quarrel with the hierarchy. On the contrary, he promised to conduct the Pope to Rome. Innocent in return promised him the title of the imperial power.¹ In the Council held at Rheims in October, he received the recognition of England and Spain, and here Anaclete was solemnly excommunicated. Not without murmurs, the churches of France provided the impecunious Pope with means for his return, and he journeyed to Lombardy in the spring of 1132. Almost all the bishops and nobles of this province acknowledged him at the Council of Piacenza on April 10. Milan, however, refused its recognition. But the approach of Lothar, who, coming from Augsburg, reached the Lake of Garda in September 1132, forced the rival King Conrad to leave Lombardy, where he found himself quickly abandoned. Lothar's army was insignificant in numbers; he was accompanied by Saxon bishops and nobles.² Innocent awaited him at Piacenza, and advanced with him along the Via Emilia into Bolognese territory in November. The Pope went thence to Pisa, reconciled this city with Genoa, and

¹ *Plenitudinem imperii in eadem Romana civitate, sicut decebat, offerens.* Dodechin in Pistorius, A. 1131.

² Wilhelm Bernhardt, *Lothar von Supplinburg*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 436 ff., where the expedition to Rome is depicted with great care. See also Giesebrecht, iv. 4.

Lothar
conducts
Innocent
II. to
Rome in
1133.

induced the two republics to lend him their fleets for the subjugation of Rome. In the following spring Lothar and Innocent advanced from Viterbo to Horta and Farfa, while the Pisans and Genoese conquered Civita Vecchia and subjugated the entire Maritima.¹

Ambassadors from Anaclete had already gone to the King at Viterbo, to demand that an impartial Synod should pronounce the validity of election of one or other pope. The German princes well understood the justice of the demand, and the advantage which the post of umpire offered the King. Neither could Lothar have forgotten that his Salic predecessors had first cited rival popes before a Council at Sutri, and, after judgment had been pronounced, had escorted the pope in whose favour it had been given to Rome. But Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, and the cardinals with him, quenched the scruples of the King, by appealing to the decrees of Rheims and Piacenza. The perplexed Lothar yielded to their representations and threw away an opportunity which might have invested him with formidable power against the Church.² Anaclete found himself in no slight danger; his only ally was unable to

¹ *Pisani et Januenses — cum navali exercitu Romam venientes, Civitatem veterem, Turrim de Pulverejo, et totam Marmoratam eidem Pont. subjugarunt.* Card. Aragon., p. 435. The *tota* suits the little locality of the Marmorata, which is the name actually given in the original *Codex. Vat.* 1437, so ill that I correct to *Maritimam*. *Pulverejo* or *Pulverea*, corrupted perhaps from *S. Severa*, or *Pala?* *Civitas vetus*, also *vetula* (*Reg. Farfa*, 1098, A. 1084) as early as 1072: *civitas Vecchia* (*Reg. Farfa*, n. 1097).

² *Vita S. Norberti* (*Mon. Germ.*, xii. 70) and Lothar's Encyclica, Mansi, xxi. 483; *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 81; Pagi, *ad A.* 1133, n. vii.

render him any assistance; the ally himself being sore harassed by a successful revolt in Apulia, where Robert of Capua, Rainulf of Alife, and several other barons stood in arms and strengthened the party of Innocent. In such circumstances Anaclete seemed lost; he was, however, saved by the fact that he held nearly all the fortresses of the city and by the insignificant number of the hostile army. In fact, Lothar had appeared in Italy with so scanty a force that the cities had jeered at him, and the retinue which accompanied him to Rome consisted merely of 2000 horse.¹

At the end of April he encamped near S. Agnese outside the Nomentan Gate; some Roman nobles immediately appeared to do homage. They were former adherents of Innocent, or betrayers of Anaclete, the Frangipani, Theobald, Prefect of the city, and Peter Latro of the family of the Corsi.² Lothar entered the city unopposed on April 30, 1133; he conducted Innocent to the Lateran, made his own dwelling on the Aventine, which had not given shelter to any emperor since the time of Otto III.,

¹ Falco, A. 1133. *In manus non magna—tantillum exercitum*, says S. Bernard, Ep. 139.

² *Apud Excl. S. Agnetis castrametati sunt. Occurrentibus autem ei Theobaldo Urbis prefecto, ac Petro Latronis cum aliis nobilibus*: Card. Aragon. p. 435. Hugo was consequently dead, or had retired from office. The *Vita* of Norbert: *castra primum in monte Latronum—collocavit*; this must have been a hill outside the Porta Nomentana, perhaps where the *Mons Sacer* is now sought. Besides this, I only know a *Fossa Latronis* near S. Paul's, where the army encamped, not at first, but afterwards. Afterwards: *in monte Aventino castrametati fuimus*, says Lothar in his encyclical, which reveals the continued negotiations with Anaclete.

Lothar
crowned
Emperor,
June 4,
1133.

and caused his troops to pitch their tents beside S. Paul's. Meanwhile the Pisan vessels made their way up the Tiber. Innocent was nevertheless deceived in the hope of overcoming the schism, for Anaclete, who found himself condemned without having been judged, refused to surrender his fortresses, and Lothar's Curia consequently placed him under the ban as an enemy to the empire. Meanwhile, safe behind the Tiber in S. Angelo, he could laugh at the feeble attacks of the enemy, and afford to despise them, since the German king, contrary to the ritual, was obliged to take the imperial crown in the Lateran. The festal procession on this occasion was only able to move between the Aventine and the Lateran; the solemn reception could only be held on the Lateran steps; the customary oath could only be tendered outside the doors of this basilica. Innocent II. crowned Lothar and his wife Richenza on June 4, 1133, with a limited display of pomp, in presence of many bishops and nobles of Italy.¹ The new Emperor made some feeble attempts to continue the quarrel for investitures; but his peace with the Church was strengthened by a treaty concerning the

¹ *II. Nonas Junii*, according to Cardinal Aragon. The banquet took place on the Aventine, probably in Otto's palace beside S. Bonifazio. The *Chronicle of Reichersberg* is therefore wrong when it says of Lothar and Richenza: *ordinati sunt ab Innocentio P. in eccl. S. Bonifacii*. The procession set forth thence. The oath taken in the presence of Cencius Frangipane, his nephew Otto, and others is given from Cencius, in Baron., A. 1133, m. ii., and Theiner, *Cod. Dipl.*, l. n. xiv. In token of gratitude, Innocent had the scene of the coronation painted in the Lateran, and furnished with the bold lines:—

*Rex stetit ante fores jurans prius urbis honores,
Post homo fit Papa, sumit quo dante coronam.*

allodial lands of Matilda. For Innocent invested Lothar and his son-in-law Henry of Bavaria, a member of the house of Guelf, with these lands for life.¹

Such were the meagre results of the Roman expedition. In vain Robert and Rainulf appeared to demand help against Roger, whom they had only succeeded in driving back to Sicily. Want of means forced the Emperor to return to the North, and after the withdrawal of the Germans in the middle of June, Innocent and Anaclete recognised that their position was virtually the same as before.

Roger's landing and victories in Apulia strengthened the cause of Anaclete. Innocent fled from Rome in August, and for the second time Pisa accorded him a hospitable reception, since this commercial city watched with jealousy the growing maritime power of Sicily, and like Genoa remained hostile to the Norman monarchy.² Time passed without anything decisive taking place. Rome, ruled by the nobles with absolute independence, was chiefly in favour of Anaclete, but the Council of Pisa in May 1135 ratified Innocent's election, and even Milan renounced his rival. The peaceful

Innocent II. again flees from Rome, August 1133.

¹ The Pactum is given from Cencius in Mansi, xxi. 392. Theiner, *Cod. Diplom.*, i. n. xiii., dat. *Laterani VI. Id. Junii*. The Pope received the yearly rent of 100 pounds of silver.

² It was customary at this time to say of the popes : *pulsus ab Urbe, ab Orbe excipitur*. Bernard wrote to the Pisans in congratulation : *Assumitur Pisa in locum Romæ ; et de cunctis nobilibus terra ad Apostolicæ sedis culmen eligitur* — *Tyranni siculi malitia Pisana constantia non cedit* (Ep. 130). See also Tronci, *Annali di Pisa* for this year.

Anaclete
hails
Rome.

conquest of this Lombard city was Bernard's work and his most brilliant triumph. The reception here prepared for him is one of the most remarkable spectacles of the age, showing as it does the immeasurable power which religious ideas then exercised upon the world. The sainted diplomat was received by the entire populace a mile outside the city. The crowd kissed his feet, tore the threads from his tunic, stifled him with caresses.¹ The whole of Italy north of the Tiber acknowledged Innocent II.; Rome, the Campagna, and South Italy alone upheld Anaclete. Not until the power of Roger was shattered was there any hope of removing the anti-pope, who still held his own against the Frangipani in the city. The founder of the Sicilian monarchy had suppressed the revolt in Apulia with barbarous energy. Robert of Capua, driven from his own territories, fled to Pisa, and induced the republic to equip a fleet against Roger. A short war proved indecisive. The Pisans, it is true, overcame their former rival Amalfi as early as 1136, and destroyed for ever the remains of the prosperity of this celebrated commercial city. Robert, however, was obliged to return unsuccessful to Innocent with his fleet laden with spoils. Anaclete now appointed King Roger Advocate of the Church and Patricius of the Romans, and in his distress conceded him

¹ *Vita S. Bernardi*, lib. ii. c. 2. No miracle was beyond the power of a saint who had excommunicated a swarm of flies in a church so successfully that they all dropped down dead. *Muscas dedicationi ecclesie (Fusniacensi) molestas excommunicavit, et omnes extincte sunt* (i. c. xi.).

rights which were dangerous to the independence of the Papacy.¹

Innocent II., on the other hand, saw his only prospect of salvation in another visit of the Emperor, and Lothar was foolish enough to serve ends which were not his own. The last Duke of Capua hastened to Germany with the papal legates to summon the Emperor against the common enemy, who now energetically laid siege to Naples itself. The entreaties of the Pope and of the Apulian princes were strengthened by the exhortations of Bernard, who represented to Lothar that it was his duty to wrest South Italy from a usurper and to reunite the province with the empire.² The claims of the empire over Apulia and Calabria were thus recognised by the Church when it suited her, and were denied when she found it profitable to deny them. It was resolved to undertake a war of annihilation against the Sicilian monarchy, and Roger had not power to resist this terrible league of Emperor and Pope, the Pisans, the Genoese, and the dynasty of Apulia. Lothar, now reconciled to the Hohen-

Lothar's
second
journey
to Rome,
1137.

¹ *Inventa sunt privilegia* (in Roger's camp), *in quibus Petrus Leonis ipsam Romam et ab inde usque Siciliam totam ei terram concesserat, et advocatum Rom. Ecc., et Patricium Romanorum et Regem illum statuerat.* *Cod. Udair.*, n. 360. In Jaffé, n. 5972, from Florez, *España Sagrada*, xx. 550, Anacleto's letter written from the Lateran, April 22, 1134, in which he says that Innocent had fled to Pisa by night after Lothar's departure, and that with Roger's help he was preparing to exterminate *illos perjuros nostros, Leo Fraiapanem, &c.*

² *Est Caesaris propriam vindicare coronam ab usurpatore Siculo.* S. Bernard, Ep. 139.

Alps in September. Some Lombard cities now felt the edge of his sword, others were terrified into allegiance. He advanced along the coast through the marches to Apulia in the spring of 1137, while his son-in-law Henry proceeded by Florence to Viterbo. These two armies, besieging or destroying cities, forcing their way by fire and sword, resembled (like all such processions to Rome) streams of lava, which ran crackling over Italy, only quickly to grow cold. Henry the Proud, now also titular Duke of Tuscany, conducted Innocent by Sutri to Latium, invariably laying waste such districts as recognised Anacleto.¹ But with surprise the anti-pope watched, from the battlements of S. Angelo, the threatening hosts pass by; his rival, returning after a four years' exile, could not delay to overcome the difficulties which the city presented; he merely sent the Abbot Bernard to conquer it by his pious eloquence, and himself proceeded with Duke Henry past Albano through Latium, which he subjugated, and onwards to S. Germano and Benevento, reaching the southern city on May 23.² After a brief

S. Bernard
in Rome.

¹ This gave occasion to disputes between Henry and the Pope, as, for example, on account of Viterbo, which held partly to Innocent, partly to Anacleto. Sutri, the former residence of Wibert and of Burdinus, was in favour of Anacleto. *Annal. Saxo*, p. 773, in which Roman Tuscany is called Romania, and distinguished from Campania. See, on these relations, W. Bernhardt, *Lothar*, &c., p. 692 ff.

² Otto of Freising, *Chr.*, vii. 19: *apud Albam suburbia civitatis sibi resistere nitentis, ante expugnaverat, i.e., Henricus dux.*—*Romam quidem ingredi noluit, ne in Romanor. negotiis impediretur*; Falco, p. 120. The account of Falco, who was at the time returning to Benevento after a three years' exile, deserves to be read. Innocent was again prevented by fear from entering Benevento. It was

resistance Benevento yielded ; Capua also received its legitimate ruler, and Henry, Innocent, and Lothar could joyfully clasp hands in blood-stained Bari.

In vain Roger offered peace ; his overtures were rejected, and, since Pisan and Genoese vessels supported the army on land, he was unable to prevent the fall of almost all the cities of Apulia. He escaped to Sicily, and Lothar's triumphs served to extend the imperial power for the first time over the whole of Southern Italy. Robert was restored in Capua, Rainulf was made Duke of Apulia, and Sergius again breathed freely in Naples. Nevertheless, since the German emperors speedily turned homewards and left no garrison behind, their most triumphant successes in Italy were necessarily transient ; the profits of their exertions were generally reaped by the shrewd popes, as whose armed advocates the emperors consented to be employed. The valiant German army impatiently clamoured to return home, and loudly and frequently denounced the Pope, whose selfishness had been the cause of this fatal war. Lothar had done enough for Innocent, and in Apulia and Salerno (over which the Pope claimed exclusive feudal supremacy) had already discovered that no thanks were to be gained, and that the Pope would merely make use of him as of an obliging

Lothar
drives
Roger out
of Apulia.

probably at this time that the Counts of Ceccano yielded allegiance. Count John tendered the oath of vassalage to the Pope (*fecit ei ligium hominium*) and received investiture by a chalice (*cuppa argentea deaurata*). The remarkable deed of investiture is given in the *History of the Frangipani* by Panvinus, p. 217 ; but is absent from the *Codex Diplom.* of Theiner.

Lothar's
return from
Apulia.

general.¹ The thought of Roger alone prevented the breach, but as early as September the Emperor moved to Farfa by way of Monte Casino, Ceprano, Palestrina, and Tivoli. He did not enter Rome. The imperial party, however, had already brought him the insignia of the patriciate to San Germano, and the most powerful nobleman in Latium, Ptolemy of Tusculum, had done homage to him and the Pope. In return Ptolemy was acknowledged as a prince of the empire and obtained the ratification of his possessions. The Emperor left the Pope to his fate and continued his march to the north.²

Scarcely had he departed when King Roger returned from Sicily, burning for revenge; his Saracen soldiers fell on Apulia and Calabria and committed horrible destruction. Capua, Benevento, Salerno, Naples, several fortresses, surrendered in the first panic. Robert of Capua fled; Sergius of Naples tendered the oath of vassalage. The heroic Rainulf alone resisted for some time with courage and success, but in spite of his splendid victory at Ragnano, on

¹ The Emperor and Pope remained thirty days in dispute concerning the investiture of Apulia; finally, the former holding the banner by the staff, the latter by the top, handed it to Rainulf; a scene which was unworthy of the Emperor. Falco, A. 1137, p. 122; Romuald, p. 189; Otto of Freising, *Chr.*, vii. 20.

² *Ipse in civitate (S. Germani) coronam circuli patricialis accepturus remansit.* Petr. Diacon., iv. c. 119. *Rex Lotharius—ab ingressu abstinuit urbis Romæ, quia duorum de sede Apost. contententium prelia et seditiones nequivit compescere:* Sigeb., *Contin. Gembl.*, ad A. 1137. Innocent was in Tivoli on October 3; he then accompanied Lothar to Farfa: *post hec data et accepta honorifice ab imperatore et principibus licentia, papa remeavit in sua* (*Annal. Saxo*, A. 1137, p. 775).

October 30, he was able to retain nothing more of his dukedom than a few fortified towns. The Emperor's glorious campaign consequently passed by like a hurricane; the victories so dearly bought proved to have been all in vain. They merely served to adorn Lothar's noble old age with fresh but unprofitable laurels. The Emperor, esteemed by friend and foe on account of his gentleness, wisdom, and valour, brought, like so many of his German predecessors and successors, the seeds of death back with him from Italy, and died in an Alpine hut in the Tyrol on December 3, 1137.

Death
of the
Emperor
Lothar,
Dec. 3,
1137.

3. INNOCENT II. RETURNS TO ROME—DEATH OF ANACLETE II.—VICTOR IV. ANTI-POPE—ROME SUBMITS TO INNOCENT II.—THE CISTERCIAN MONASTERY AD AQUAS SALVIAS—LATERAN COUNCIL IN 1139—INNOCENT II. MAKES WAR AGAINST ROGER I.—HE IS MADE PRISONER, AND RECOGNISES THE SICILIAN MONARCHY—PEACEFUL ACTIVITY OF THE POPE IN ROME—WAR BETWEEN THE ROMANS AND TIVOLI—INNOCENT TAKES TIVOLI UNDER HIS PROTECTION—THE ROMANS RISE, AND INSTALL THE SENATE ON THE CAPITOL—DEATH OF INNOCENT II.

Owing to Bernard's influence Innocent found Rome inclined in his favour. Anaclete, it is true, still held S. Peter's and S. Angelo, but his party waned in strength. Roger alone refused to recognise Innocent II. The shrewd prince accepted the position which Lothar had declined, and in order to turn to his own advantage the schism, which he

Death of
Anacleto
II., Jan.
25, 1138.

alone upheld, constituted himself judge over the two popes. He listened with patience to Bernard's exhortations in Salerno, and allowed the excited cardinals of both sides to dispute for whole days in his presence, but withheld his decision. The death of Anacleto, however, released Innocent from his perplexity. The son of Pierleone died on January 25, 1138, after having courageously filled S. Peter's chair for nearly eight years and having bravely resisted two expeditions against Rome, the last of which had been one of the most splendid triumphs of the German emperors. The Bernardines rejoiced at his death; but during a pontificate passed in the midst of terror and distress, not a single unprejudiced voice accuses this man, who, though uncanonically elected was originally entitled to the chair, of such sins as dishonoured many a lawful pope.¹

Anacleto's party now hastened to entreat Roger to give them another pope, and, with the sanction of the King, they put forward Cardinal Gregory as Victor IV. in March. The schism, however, had no

¹ His memory is preserved in Rome by an inscription in S. Lorenzo in Lucina; *A.D. M.CXXX. a. vero Domini Anacleti Sedi Pape Primo Ind. VIII. M. Madio D.XX. quinta dedicata est hæc Eccl.* . . . To his Bull, concerning the Capitol, I shall refer later. Another relating to the basilica of the twelve apostles, to which he ceded the church of S. Abbacyrus, runs: *dat. Romæ ap. S. Petrum per man. Saxonis S. R. E. Prasbr. Card. et Cancellar. VIII. Kal. Maji in die octava. A. d. Incarn. M.CXXX. Pont. autem Anacleti Pape II. a. primo.* This Bull, signed by seventeen cardinals, is in the *Mscr. Vatican.* 5560 (*History of the Basilica XII. Apostol.* by Volateranus). The church S. Abbacyrus or of SS. *Ciro abate e Giovanni* stood under Magnanapoli, and was also called S. Pacera. Adinolfi, *Roma n. e. di Mezzo*, li. 31.

longer any solid foundation. It merely served the Romans as a means of obtaining more favourable conditions of peace, and S. Bernard was able to lead the cardinal, a repentant sinner, to the feet of his *protégé*. Anaclete's brothers, like all other Romans, silenced by large sums of money, acknowledged Innocent II. as their Pope and ruler at Whitsuntide.¹ A lasting peace was concluded with the family of the Pierleoni; they retained their power at the papal court, and Innocent even distinguished them by honours and offices.² Bernard could now leave Rome with a mind at ease; the conquest of the Pierleone schism (the *rabies leonina*), and the restoration of the unity of the Church were in great measure his work, and his devoted admirers called him, like Cicero, the Father of his country. The once celebrated and formerly wealthy monastery *ad Aquas Salvias*, behind S. Paul's, may be regarded as a monument of the saint in Rome; since, after it had remained in ruin a considerable time, Innocent II. re-

Innocent
II. recog-
nised in
Rome.

¹ *In octavis Pentecostes ipsa die complevit Deus desiderium nostrum : Ecclesie unitatem, et urbi dando pacem. Nam illa die filii Petri Leonis omnes simul humiliauerunt se ad pedes D. Papa, &c.* S. Bern. Ep. 320. *Vita S. Bern.*, ii. c. 7. Falco, p. 125 : *fratres Anacleti—cum D. Innoc. Papa pacis firmamentum composuerunt.* Aragon, p. 436. *Innocentius autem immensa in filios Petri Leonis et in his qui eis adhaerebant pecunia prostigata illos ad suam partem attraxit :* Petr. Diacon., iv., last chapter.

² In 1142 Leo Pierleone and his son Peter were delegates of the Pope in Sutri, *Ego Caccialupus Sutrinus civ. dei gr. iudex auctor. et precepto d. Leonis Petri Leonis et Petri filii ejus civitatis Sutrine presidis, a d. Innocentio II. P. delegatorum, in quor. pres. pop. Sutrinus causa justitiam faciendi congregatus erat. . . .* (Mittarelli, iii. n. 257). The office of the delegates is here apparent; the delegates were, however, at this time Roman nobles, not Monsignori.

built the monastery and installed within it Cistercians from Clairvaux, under the Abbot Bernard of Pisa, a pupil of the great mystic.¹ Soon afterwards the Cistercians settled in the Latin Campagna, where they took possession of the convent of Casamari.²

Lateran
Council,
1139.

During the Lent of 1139 a Lateran Council solemnly announced the end of the schism; Anacleto's acts were annulled, Roger was again excommunicated, and the doctrines of Arnold of Brescia (a man who was soon to make his appearance in Rome) were condemned.³ Meanwhile the peace of the Church

¹ *Vita S. Bernh.*, ii. c. 7. Manrique, *Annal. Cistert.*, A. 1140, c. viii. A more recent inscription on the portico of the convent church calls Innocent II. *ex Familia Anicia Papia et Paparesca nunc Matthæia*. The Anicii are the fixed idea of Roman families. Charles the Great is represented as having presented twelve Tuscan towns to the abbey; we may read their names under their obliterated portraits at the entrance. That this was no fiction is shown, with reference, at least, to Portercole, by Ag. Chigi's biography of the later Pope, Alexander VII. (Cugnoni, *Agostino Chigi il Magnifico*, Rome, 1878, p. 39), wherein we learn that Portercole and the surrounding country belonged to the monastery of S. Anastasio; in 1286 the convent invested Count Ildebrandino with the harbour, of which Siena had then seized possession. The towns of Nemi and Genzano belonged to the monastery as late as the fourteenth century (Extracts from the register of S. Anastasio in the *Arch. d. Soc. Romana*, vol. i.). Ughelli, formerly abbot of this monastery, author of *Italia Sacra*, is buried here.

² This monastery, afterwards celebrated for its Gothic church, was founded by Verulans about 1036, according to tradition, on property which had belonged to C. Marius (consequently *Casa Marii*). It received Cistercians from Clairvaux. Rondinini, *Brevi Historia Monasterii S. Mariae et Sanctor. Johis et Pauli de Casamario*, 1707.

³ Otto of Freising, *Chr.*, vii. c. 23. Among the decrees of the Council (Mansi, xxi. 523) the prohibition of the clergy: *leges temporales, et medicinam gratia lucri temporalis addiscere*; the inviolability of the clergy through lay hands; the prohibition of the tournaments which

remained incomplete so long as it was unratified by the powerful King of Sicily. No other enemy was left to trouble Innocent save this astute prince, against whose obstinacy all negotiations were shattered. In order to extort the recognition of his monarchy from the Pope he still held his sword over Rome; the hope that a last reaction would ruin his kingdom was dissolved, for Duke Rainulf, one of the most prominent men of the time and the King's only rival of equal birth, died suddenly in Troja, on April 30, 1139. As Roger immediately threw himself on Rainulf's cities, all of which, even Troja and Bari, surrendered, Innocent resolved on war. He collected an army, many Romans of position took service, and, accompanied by the exile Robert of Capua, he marched to S. Germano, to venture, more thoughtless than Leo IX. and Honorius II., on an unequal struggle. The repetition of the same fate is a remarkable feature in the history of the popes, whose temporal enterprises were so justly punished.¹ From S. Germano the Pope held negotiations with Roger, who refused to restore the princes of Capua. The King determined to put an end to the tedious discussion by a daring stroke, as Henry V. had

Innocent
II. makes
war on
Roger,

were beginning : *detestabiles autem illas mundinas vel ferias, in quibus milites e condito convenire solent, et ad ostentationem virium suarum et audacia temeraria congregantur, unde mortes hominum . . .* (n. xiv.). Christian burial was refused to the killed in tournament (Council at Rheims in 1157, Canon iv.).

¹ Muratori justly says with regard to this : *a cui (Innocensio) e agli altri suoi successori volle Dio dare un nuovo ricordo di quel versetto del Salmo : Hi in curribus et in equis : nos autem in nomine Dei nostri invocavimus.*

and is
made a
prisoner.

He
recognises
Roger I.
as King of
the two
Sicilies,
July 25,
1139.

previously done. While the papal troops laid siege to Galuzzo, he ordered his son Roger with a thousand horse to lie in ambush for Innocent. The undertaking was quickly and successfully accomplished. After a wild scene of pillage, flight, and imprisonment, the Pope, his chancellor Haimerich, and many Roman nobles and cardinals were led to Roger's tent. Robert of Capua was only saved by the fleetness of his horse.¹ The King and his sons, with true Norman humility, threw themselves at the feet of their prisoner; they smilingly implored mercy and peace, and, after a brief struggle between reluctant shame and eloquent fear, the Pope released Roger from the ban; at Mignano on July 25, 1139, he ratified "the illustrious and celebrated King" and his heirs in the possession of the kingdom of Sicily and of all the lands which they had conquered, with the exception of Benevento.² Thus were Lothar's costly exertions, which had aimed at the annihilation of this kingdom, denounced by the Pope as folly. The only act of Anaclete

¹ The *Chronicle of Fossa Nova* also mentions the Prefect: *tunc Papa et prefectus, et Dux Robertus cum multis venientes apud S. Germanum—et facta est redemptio lacenda*. Teobaldus is again mentioned as Prefect on April 4, 1139, in a document wherein the Abbot of S. Gregorio cites Oddo de Poli before the Lateran Council (Mansi, xxi. 542). There, too, the son of the well-known Prefect of Paschalis's time appears: *Oddo misit ad dom. Papam Petrum de Antegia, et Petrum Petri prefecti filium*.

² Falco; according to him the Pope was taken *X. die stante m. Julii*, therefore by his reckoning July 22; the Bull of Investiture "*Quos dispensatio*" is dated *IV. Kal. Aug.* (Mansi, xxi. 396). Concerning these events, see W. Bernhardt, *Jahrb. der deutsch. Gesch. Konrad III.*, i. 151 ff.

which he recognised was the foundation of the Sicilian monarchy. In vain the last legitimate Duke of Capua protested; his beautiful principality fell to Roger's son Anfusus. Roger, the successor to the throne, was invested with Apulia, and after the ancient Byzantine duchy of Naples had surrendered, an enterprising prince, who shrunk from no crime, ruled over the finest provinces of Italy, which he united, for the first time since Gothic days, in one kingdom.¹ The foundation of this kingdom produced a profound sensation in the world; the destruction, accomplished with so much artifice and energy, of states which had formerly been independent, gave rise to suspicions of further designs on the part of the usurper. Foreign countries greeted the victorious robber with the wish that "unhappy Tuscany" might share the good fortune of being united to the Sicilian monarchy.² Through-

¹ The documents of the *Monum. Regis Neapol. Archivii* reckon even to the last, according to the era of the Byzantine emperors. The last Duke of Naples fell at Ragnano as Roger's vassal in 1137. In August 1139 the Neapolitan envoys came to Benevento to make submission to Roger. Falco, A. 1139. Roger had measurements taken of the circumference of Naples; the city was 2363 paces in circumference (Falco, p. 132). After 1062 Gaeta remained subject to Capua, although it had its own dukes down to Riccardus Bartolomei about 1135, when Roger's son Anfusus became duke.

² *Utinam, inquam, miserabilis atque infelicitis Tuscia partes felici vestro imperio cum adjacentibus provinciis adjungerentur, et res perditissima pacifico regni vestri corpori unirentur*; the language of to-day. Thus wrote to Roger the Abbot Peter of Cluny (Baron., A. 1139, n. 20), indignant at being plundered by robbers near Luni, when returning from the Council of Pisa in 1134. Roger acquired the favour of the French religious orders, and even of Bernard, by bringing Cistercians to Sicily.

out the rest of Italy, however, no voice was heard expressing the desire for union with the government of a despot. If the existence of the Roman ecclesiastical State could ever have been a benefit to Italy and her free cities, it was so now, when it acted as a bulwark against the lust of conquest of the Norman kings. Italy, however, presented the curious spectacle of a harsh political contradiction. While, after the fall of the ancient maritime republics of Amalfi, Gæta, Naples, Salerno, and Sorrento, the South fell a sacrifice for ever to the tyranny of a feudal monarchy, the city republics in the North (the ties which bound them to the empire having fortunately been severed) rose to their full vigour and bestowed a second civilisation and a second immortality upon Italy.

Innocent left Benevento on September 29 for Rome, and here, as formerly Leo IX., was received with honour, but at the same time with bitter criticism. Demands were also made urging him to set aside the treaty which Roger had extorted from him, but the circumspect Pope comforted himself with the thought that it had pleased God that the Church should buy this peace through the papal disgrace.¹ Neither did he issue from this humiliation without advantage, since Sicily henceforward acknowledged herself a fief not of the Emperor but of the Pope, to whom the rights of the empire had

¹ It was naturally the cardinals who whispered to this effect, although Falco says it of the Roman people. Benevento had long been administered through cardinals; thus arose the office of the cardinal-legates as governors.

been transferred in his one-sided peace with the usurper.

Innocent II., protected by Roger I., now occupied himself with the concerns of the city. He strove to restore the relations of property, to secure the administration of justice, to maintain the peace of God, in short, to be the beneficent ruler of Rome, where belief in the temporal power of the Pope had been forgotten during the schism.¹ The solitary eulogy on Rome's happy condition was nevertheless either merely an expression of flattery, or it was soon enough reversed by events which introduced a new epoch into the history of the city with astonishing suddenness.² The cause was a civic war.

Little Tivoli, fired by the spirit of liberty and resistance, roused the ire of the Romans; its bishop had long enjoyed exemption from the jurisdiction of the count, and, as in Benevento, only a rector watched over the sovereign rights of the Pope in what was formerly a county. The Tivolese already possessed a tolerably free municipal constitution; they even made war on their neighbours, more

The town
of Tivoli

¹ He fixed a salary of 100 pounds for judges and notaries. Card. Arag., p. 436. The procedure follows the traditional forms. In 1139 Innocent presided in person at the trial of Oddo de Poli, a robber of convent property; the judges are bishops, cardinals, Theobald, Prefect of the city, Cencius and Oddo Frajapana, Leo Petri Leonis with his brothers, and others (Mansi, xxi. 542). The monks in Grotta Ferrata presented a complaint against Ptolemy of Tusculum, who had seized several of their estates, February 23, December 24, 1140. *Studi e Doc. di Storia e Diritto*, Roma, 1886, p. 13.

² Rome's happy condition: *post multifarias egestates in brevi civitas opulenta refloret* . . . is extolled in the *Vita S. Bern.*, ii. c. 7.

especially on the Abbot of Subiaco, and it is scarcely probable that they always acted under the authority of their bishop.¹ During the struggle for investitures we saw the town take the part of the anti-popes; Paschalis II. had with difficulty reduced it to subjection, Innocent II. had apparently snatched it from Anaclete by means of Lothar's forces, but it soon again revolted. As the sons of Roger marched against the Abruzzi in 1140, and subjugated the frontier towns on the Liris, the Tivolese fortified their town to defend it against a sudden attack.² Innocent, however, was reassured by Roger, whose sons did not cross the boundary. But Tivoli found itself at strife with the Pope as early as 1139, soon after in open revolt against him, and at war with

¹ Tibur was still called a county; a John Stephani, *Tiburtinus comes*, appears in an act of Christian of Mainz, legate of Italy, Siena, March 19, 1172 (Böhmer, *Acta Imp. Sel.* 889). An inscription of 1140 speaks of *publica contio regionum* and of the *Pop. Tiburtinus*. A treaty of commerce between Gaeta and Marinus of Circeum of the year 1132 shows the autonomy of the country towns in Roman territory; Marinus here pledges himself: *cum Terracinensibus pacem et treguam non faciemus sine vestra licentia, et si aliquando vos Gatani guerram cum Terracin. habueritis, adjuvabimus vos—cum armis, equis et personis nostris*. No mention is made of the Pope. Giorgi, *De Cathedra Episcopali Setia Civitatis*, Rome, 1727, App. v.

² Chr. *Fossa Novæ*: Ind. III. venit rex Siciliæ, et filii ejus m. Julio ceperunt Soram, Arcem et usque Ceperanum. Two inscriptions from S. Angelo in Valle Arcese, now affixed to the wall of the atrium of S. Maria in Cosmedin, refer to this. The first: *Regis itaque Siculi Rogerii potestas immoderate crescens, . . . Tiburtinus deprendens PP. (populus) valde timuit. Et munire infirmiora loca civitatis, &c., &c.* The second, in which Tebaldu Rector appears, is dated *Anno Dni. MCXL. Anno XI. Papatus Dni. Innocentii Sedi PP. M. Aug. D. IIII.* Crescimbeni, *Storia di S. M. in Cosmedin*, pp. 48 and 54; Viola, *Storia di Tivoli*, ii. 160.

Rome.¹ The causes of this war are unknown ; the Pope may perhaps have desired to place a Roman garrison in Tivoli ; he undoubtedly contemplated curbing its aspirations towards civic freedom, as he intended curbing the like aspirations in Rome and in all the cities in the ecclesiastical State.

Disastrous war of the Romans with Tivoli, 1141.

The civic wars in Lombardy and Tuscany were now repeated in Rome. It redounded, however, little to the honour of the capital of the world to find herself at strife with insignificant Latin towns, as in her childhood during the days of Coriolanus and the Decii ; and it was a serious disgrace to suffer a defeat from the Tivolese. The besieged were protected by the strong position of the town, situated over the gorge of the Anio ; a courageous attack on the Roman camp drove the illustrious consuls, who had written such haughty letters to the Emperor, to flight. The Roman militia were thrust back to the walls of the city by the burghers of Tivoli.² Ashamed and burning with indignation, the Romans returned the following year under the command of the Prefect Theobald, and Innocent himself en-

¹ The war with Tivoli began as early as 1140 ; this is shown by the *placitum* concerning Oddo de Poli (Mansi, xxi. 542), the close of which says : *Sed quia inter dom. Papam ac Tiburtinos controversia emergerit.*

² That the course of the Anio was diverted at this time, and that the river was made to flow beside the Roman camp, is a civic legend, which is improved by Viola. Italian chronicles fail the historian, and Rome is obliged to rely on a German bishop for information concerning events so remarkable. Otto of Freising, *Chron.*, vii. c. 27 : *diu cum pontifice suo in obsidione pref. civitatis morarentur, civibus egressis, et cum ipsis manum conserentibus, multis amissis spoliis, turpiter in fugam conversi sunt.*

Tivoli
surrenders
to the
Pope.

couraged their efforts against the rebellious stronghold.¹ Enclosed and attacked on every side, the Tivolese at length surrendered, not to the Romans, but to the Pope, as they had formerly surrendered to Sylvester II. The incidents of Otto III.'s time were repeated. We still possess the instrument of peace, in which the citizens of Tivoli swore to keep faith to S. Peter and to the canonical popes: neither by counsel or deed to aid in depriving the Pope of life, limbs, or freedom; to reveal any evil designs against him; to keep secret the contents of his embassies; to help him in upholding the Papacy in Rome, in the town of Tivoli and its domains, the fortress at the Pons Lucanus, the fortress of Vicovaro, S. Polus, Boveranum, Cantalupus, Burdellum, Cicilianum, and other royalties of S. Peter's; lastly, to give the county and rectorate of Tivoli into the power of the Pope.²

The Romans, hearing of this treaty, were seized with fierce indignation; the Pope had deprived

¹ A Bull of Innocent II., dated May 19, in *Monte Tiburtino* (Jaffé, n. 5853): probably during the second siege. The *Chronicle* of Sicard (Murat., vii. 598) says rightly: *A. dom. 1142 Innocentius—Tiburtem obsedit.*

² *Juramentum Tiburtinorum*, unfortunately without date or signatures, from Cencius in Muratori, *Antiq. It.*, 6, 251 (not given by Theiner): *Ego ille ab hac hora in antea fidelis ero b. Petro et dno meo Pp. Innoc. ejusque successorib. canonice intrantib. Non ero in facto neque in consilio aut in consensu ut vitam perdant aut membrum vel capiantur mala captione. . . . Papatum romanum, civitatem Tiburtinam, Donnicaturas (Domains) et regalia que romani pontifices, &c. The places mentioned in the text were tributary to the Curia. Comitatum quoque et rectoriam ejusdem civitatis tiburtine in potestate dñi pp. Innocentii, et successor. ejus libere dimittam.* The guarantee on the part of the Pope has not been preserved.

them of a town which they themselves had conquered, and which the Roman people claimed the right to govern; he had even usurped the power of the count. They determined to avenge their defeat by the destruction of Tivoli. They urged Innocent to carry out their resolve, but he refused. When, 143 years earlier, Sylvester II. had rejected the same demand of the Romans, the consequence had been a revolt, to which the imperial and papal powers had both fallen victims; the result of Innocent's refusal was a still fiercer insurrection in Rome, to which the temporal rule of the popes fell a sacrifice. At no period of our history do we regret the poverty of our authorities so deeply as here, where the question is one of such a memorable revolution. No Roman annalist has thrown any light upon the circumstances.¹ But some historians casually mention that the indignant Romans hastened to the Capitol, restored the long extinct Senate, and renewed the war against Tivoli. They relate that the Pope, afraid of losing the temporal power for good, lavished threats, entreaties, and gold to quell the tumult, in the midst of which he was released by death.²

The
Romans
demand
Tivoli from
the Pope,

and rise in
indigna-
tion.

¹ The *History of St. Cassino* breaks off at 1138, the *Chronicle of Falco* at 1140; Romuald and the *Chronicle of Fossa Nova* are silent.

² Otto of Freising, vii. c. 27: *dum—tam inhumana petitioni annuere nollet, seditionem eidem Romani movent—in Capitolio convenientes, antiquam Urbis dignitatem renovare cupientes, ordinem senatorum, qui jam per multa curricula temporum deferierat, constituunt, et rursus cum Tiburtinis bellum innovant.* Gottfried Pantheon (Murat., vii. 460) says the same in other words, and so do *Hermanns Altahensis Annales* (*Mom. Germ.*, xvii. 381). Card. Aragon: *circa finem vero sui pontificatus Pop. Rom. novitatis*

Death of
Innocent
II., Sept.
24, 1143.

Innocent II., who had spent half of his pontificate in exile, or, like a general, in military expeditions, saw the temporal government of S. Peter shattered ; the sceptre of Rome fell from his dying hand ; and he passed away on September 24, 1143, the victim of sorrow and excitement, while the hoary Capitol re-echoed to the rejoicings of the republicans. With Innocent the Gregorian age of the city ended, and a new and memorable period dawned, the character of which will be described in the following chapter.¹

amator sub velamento utilitatis Respublica contra ipsius voluntatem in Capitolium Senatum erexit. Nothing more.

¹ He was buried in the Lateran *in concha porphyretica, quæ fuit Adriani Imperatoris sepultura* (Joh. Diacon.; Mabillon, *Mus.*, ii. 568). The basilica afterwards fell in and destroyed the monument, when Innocent's ashes were brought to S. Maria in Trastevere. The inscription there says : *Hic Requiescunt Venerabilia Ossa Sanctissimæ Memoræ Domini Innocentii Papæ Secundi De Domo Paparescorum Qui Præsentem Ecclesiam Ad Honorem Dei Genitricis Mariæ Sicut Est A. Fundamentis Sumptibus Propriis Renovavit.* Galletti, *Inscrp. Class.*, n. 46, n. 47. In n. 43 an inscription from S. Thomas in Parione, a church which the Pope had consecrated on December 21, 1135,

CHAPTER IV.

1. INTERNAL CONDITIONS OF THE CITY OF ROME —
 THE BURGHESSE CLASS — THE COMPANIES OF THE
 MILITIA—BURGHESSE NOBILITY—PATRICIAN NOBILITY
 — COUNTRY NOBILITY — DECAY OF THE ROMAN
 LANDGRAVES — OLIGARCHY OF THE *CONSOLES*
ROMANORUM — RISE OF THE BURGHESSE CLASS —
 FOUNDATION OF THE CIVIC COMMUNE—THE GREAT
 FEUDAL NOBILITY REMAIN FAITHFUL TO THE POPE.

THE installation of the Senate was the result no less of the already developed freedom of the Lombard cities, than of the peculiar conditions of Rome. From the eleventh century these cities had already acquired their autonomy under the shadow of the Church, which had previously held them in tutelage. The Ottos, and still more the emperors of the Salic house, had by degrees made over to the bishops the power of counts, and at the same time had bestowed many privileges on the cities. The cities gradually deprived the bishops of their jurisdiction, and became communes with their own magistrates. The citizens of strongly fortified towns made use of the struggle between Church and State, which not only weakened the bishoprics but also dissolved the union with the empire, to rise to the surface between the two enfeebled powers as a third and youthful force.

The civic
 revolution,
 1143.

In the beginning of the twelfth century the greater number of communes in Lombardy, Tuscany, the Romagna, and the Marches were governed by consuls annually elected, into whose hands the power formerly wielded by the count, as well as the larger part of the public revenues, had fallen.¹

The sight of free republics irritated the Romans. At a time when so many other cities had renounced episcopal authority, their city still remained under the sovereignty of a bishop. They must now shake off this sovereignty. But their bishop was the pope. And the pope's territorial supremacy had not arisen recently, like that of the bishops, from privilegia of exemption, but dated at least from the Frankish Constitution. Civil wars, schism, and long exile had weakened the papal supremacy like the imperial power ; nevertheless, in spite of recurring periods of impotence in temporal matters, the Bishop of Rome could always advance powerful defenders for his *Dominium Temporale*. Such were his sacred papacy, the expeditions of the emperors to Rome, the Normans, the revenues of Christendom. Thus Lombard cities became free and Rome did not, although earlier than they she had struggled for her freedom under Alberic and the Crescentii.

We have spoken of the internal hindrances to the autonomy of the city. Milan, Pisa, Florence, Genoa

¹ Concerning the Italian democracies we may refer to the often-quoted works of Savigny, Leo, Hegel, Troya, and Bethmann-Hollweg. Neither these writers, however, nor the historians of the Roman Senate, have traced the development of the civic constitution. I have here made the first comparatively scientific attempt to deal with the sources of its history.

attained liberty and wealth by means of a patriotic nobility and by the energy of a great citizen class, who obliged the nobles to seek a post of honour beside them on the Council board. In Rome there were but two lay classes—the nobility and the populace. The nobility shared honour and power with the clergy, and the populace, owing to the unproductive nature of the city, remained condemned to take no part in political life. In the twelfth century no defensive association existed between the free citizens of Rome, such as existed in other cities. Documents show us Roman nobles freight-ing vessels or making commercial contracts, but the Roman merchant class does not yet come prominently forward; shopkeepers and money-changers are alone spoken of in the acts of this period, and are distinguished by the trivial epithet of “Magnificus.”¹ The scholæ and guilds undoubtedly continued under their ancient forms, but they remained under the patronage of the great.²

Nobility
and people
of Rome.

¹ I have already noticed the commercial treaty of Ptolemy of Tusculum, also that of Bellus with the Consuls of Gaeta. *Confirmare facimus tibi Bello Romano—et tuis rebus, vestrisque navidiis, cum omnibus bonis vestris, que in ipsis navidiis habebitis, vel que a Romanis super vos ad usuras accipietis . . .* (Georgii Dissertatio—Setiæ Civit. App V.).

² *Bonofiliū jure matrificum auctificem*, A. 1035. (Galletti, *Del. prim.*, p. 374, explains this as *officio matricolato*). *Bovo prior Oleariorum*, A. 1029 (*Ms. Vat. of Galletti*, n. 7931, p. 42). *Rainerius patronus scole sandalariorum* (sailors) *pro Petro de Rosa priore dicte scole, et pro omnibus scolensibus*; this corporation confirms Farfa in possession of the harbour of Correse (*Reg. Farfa.*, fol. 1180). A barbarous document from S. Maria in Via Lata, A. 1031, contains the *Pactum (stipulum obligationis)* of a guild of gardeners (*ortulani*): *vobis Amatum magnif. virum vite tue diebus eligimus tibi ad priorem*

The only political defensive association of the Roman citizens was the militia, with its guild-companies and their captains.¹ The burgher class capable of bearing arms, who were possessed of independent property and full citizenship, were divided according to regions, of which twelve were contained in the city, while Trastevere was still traditionally designated as the fourteenth region.² We can only suppose these companies to have been

nostrum. Id est spondimus—tibi ut vite tue diebus sicut bonum priorem tibi tenemus et non disrumpimus scolam, quod tecum facta habemus. They appoint him judge of the *scolenses* under them; a superior court is the association of the priors of the remaining gardener's guilds—*Et per singulos annos singulus unus ex nobis tibi dare spondimus opera una manumale* (*Mscr. Vat. of Galletti, 8048, p. 97*).

¹ The ancient formula *numerus militum seu bandus* is still heard, as also the designations of the presidents. In 1145 a *Scola Militum* leases to the convent of S. Alessio a piece of ground near the Pyramid (*Meta*) of C. Cestius: *Tholomeus qd. fil. Pauli Johannis de Guinicco, Prior scole Militum—cum Tedelgaris—ejusd. scole secundo, et Aminadab Tertio ejusd. scole* (Nerini, App. ix.).

² We remember how the twelve regions of the city, the island and Trastevere hastened to the rescue of Gelasius on the Capitol. In a document from S. Maria in Trastevere in 1037, we find: *Regione quartadecima Transtiberina* (*Mscr. Vatican., 8051, of Galletti, p. 6*). The city proper had twelve regions. The thirteenth is never mentioned; Trastevere was still traditionally regarded as the fourteenth. It is scarcely probable that the papal Leonina had the right of appointing delegates, and the island in the Tiber was too small to form a region of itself (the thirteenth). In the time of Rienzi there were only thirteen official regions, and not until 1586 did the Leonina appear as the fourteenth (Borgo). I am consequently of opinion that in the twelfth century also only thirteen official regions existed. For although the number of the Senators (fifty-six, of whom later) then seems in favour of fourteen regions, reckoning four representatives for each region, yet the number of the Senators for each region might be determined by the size and population of the quarters of the city.

possessed of a vote in public affairs, as when they took part in the election of the prefect, assented by acclamation to the election of the pope, and were summoned occasionally by the ruling nobility and even by the pope to the Capitol to confirm resolutions as the *Populus Romanus*. In a poor city a citizen could not acquire respect by his property, but only by means of arms, and in such a warlike period even the Roman militia was a force. Through this association under a banner (*bandus*), the citizen class acquired a political right and the power of resistance against the feudal rule of the nobility. Moreover, out of the mass of the free citizens some families already emerged, who rivalled the nobility both in long descent and wealth; these formed an upper burgher class, and by degrees passed into the aristocracy or became new senatorial families. Since the Roman nobility never, as in Venice, became a close corporation, it is as a rule impossible to separate illustrious burgher houses from the patrician families. For old houses fell to decay and new houses arose, and, like the Pierleoni, suddenly entered the ranks of captains and princes. This remains the case in Rome to the present day, where tenure made and still makes the duke and baron.

There were consequently in Rome an older and a more recent nobility of many families, who, with their clients, formed, as it were, clans. These patricians no longer showed their guests the wax masks of their illustrious ancestors in their dwelling rooms. They, nevertheless, claimed descent from the Anicii and Maximi, from Julius Cæsar and Octavian; and

The
burgher
class and
the militia.

The
Roman
patrician
families.

it may have been that a few of them were actually the degenerate descendants of ancient Roman families, resembling the marble slabs of the destroyed palaces of antiquity, from which the towers of these barbarous consuls had been pieced together. The following are the best known of the patrician families of Rome in the twelfth century :—The Tusculans and Colonna, the Crescentii, the Frangipani, Pierleoni, Normanni, Sassi, Latroni and Corsi, the Maximi; the houses of Sant' Eustachio, among them the Franchi and Saraceni; the Astaldi, Senebaldi, Duranti, the Scotti, Ursini; the Buccapecora, Curtabraca, Bulgamini, Boboni, Berardi, Bonfilioli, Boneschi, Berizo, houses long risen from the burgher class. In Trastevere the Papa, Papazurri and Muti, Barunzii, and Romani, the Tebaldi and Stefani, Tiniosi, Franculini, Brazuti, and others.¹ Already the names of many families reveal their descent from Lombards, Franks, or Saxons who had followed the emperors to Italy. Time and a common

¹ The Maximi appear for the first time in 1012 with Leo de Maximus (Nerini, p. 320); the same man in the *Chron. Farf.*, p. 560: *Leo Dativus jud. de Maximo*. The Sant' Eustachii, from the quarter close to the church of that name, first appear in 987 with *Leo Sancti Stati* (Nerini, p. 383). The Saraceni and De Franco are called de Eustatio. In documents of the eleventh century we frequently meet Henricus de S. Eustachio. The Scotti and Romani were connected by marriage with the Papa. The Brazuti (from John Bracziutus, in the time of Gregory VII.) were also related to the Scotti. Their towers stood beside the Ponte Sisto. *A parte Trans-tiberim ad fontem Antonini non multum longe a Turri heredium Johannis Brazuti* (A. 1073, *Mscr. Vat.*, 8051, p. 13). A. 1227, *Johannis Bracuti de Scotto et Comitisse filie ejus* (*ibid.*, p. 40). The Tebaldi and Stefani again formed a group. We frequently find *Stefanus de Tebaldo*—*Stefanus Stefani de Tebalto*.

law had gradually effaced the differences of race, but the imperial party in Rome was chiefly composed of this nobility, which was German and immigrant, while the national and later republican party, headed in earlier times by the Crescentii, retained the consciousness of its Roman blood. The ancient title of Dux was no longer in use, although the nobles still called themselves "consuls," and precisely in the twelfth century was this ancient Roman title borne with distinction. It was now used to denote the judiciary and ruling magistracy essentially; although in no way in imitation of Lombard consuls, since with the suffix *Romanorum* it had always been common in Rome before it became adopted in Italian cities. The nobility bestowed it on their most powerful members, the heads of the aristocratic republic.¹ The title "Capitaneus" common ^{The} in Northern Italy was also used in Rome for the ^{captains.} nobles who had received investiture from the pope. The captains were the great landed nobility, the comites and vice-comites in the Campagna, whose oath of vassalage pledged them to the military service of the pope.² The civic nobility also entered

¹ The Ep. ix. of Anaclete first mentions the nobles by name, then *reliqui Rom. Urb. potentes, sacri quoque Palatii iudices, et nostri consules, et plebs*. The document of the year 1139 (Mansi, xxi. 542) thus specifies the nobles: *prefecto, consulibus, et maioribus civitatis*. In the letter to Lothar, *Cod. Udalr.*, 351: *Consules Romani, et alii principes salutem*. Here "consul" everywhere indicates high official position. Hegel wrongly holds this genuinely Roman title for an imitation of the Lombard "consul." Rome was, until 1143, a (consular) republic of nobles, of which the forms, however, are unknown to us.

² Ep. xvi. of Anaclete thus distinguishes: *nobiles omnes, et plebs*

the ranks of the captains, when the pope gave them castles in fief. The pope had, moreover, excluded the provincial nobility, formerly so powerful, from civic affairs; the Counts of Nepi and Galeria, the Crescentii in the Sabina, the Counts of the Campagna of the family of Amatus had fallen into decadence, or remained banished to their provincial towns, while newer consular families, such as the Frangipani and the Pierleoni, who had risen to the surface in the war of factions, seized the reins of power.

The
milites.

Besides the captains there was lastly the class of smaller feudal tenantry (the *milites*), vassals of the nobles or of the churches. In Rome, and more especially in the towns of the Campagna, where the greater part of the freehold had come into the possession of the Church, they formed a knightly nobility, which may be compared to the vavasours in Lombardy and the Romagna.¹

Thus the nobility, who, like the patricians in ancient Rome, had formed themselves into clans, possessed the reins of government in the city as early as the eleventh century, and more especially since the quarrel for investitures. Cornelii and Claudii

omnis Romana, Capitanei et Comites qui extra sunt. In the peace of Venice in 1177, it is also expressly said: *plures etiam de nobilibus Romanis* (civic nobility), *et Capitaneis Campanie* (country nobility), *hanc pacem firmabunt.*—*Ep. Petri Portuensis* in Baron., A. 1130, n. ix., mentions *Principes, Capitanei, Barones.*

¹ Several documents of the middle of the twelfth century mention such *milites*; for instance, *civitatis Alatrinae, Frosinonis, civitatis Verule*, &c. The freemen on the Campagna had, for the most part, been reduced to become tenants for a time of the churches or captains,

would have gazed in surprise on these men, who, dwelling in castellated triumphal arches and porticos, called themselves Consuls of the Romans, and met together as a Senate amid the ruins of the Capitol. For the nobility assembled on the Capitol before the new Senate was appointed by the people, and the *Consules Romanorum*, chosen from their midst, were the presidents of an oligarchy which, without fixed constitution, and in a tumultuous manner, ruled and misruled the city.¹ The despotism of these nobles was finally overthrown by the people, and in this overthrow lies the significance of the revolution of 1143. While in Lombardy the consuls had risen simultaneously with the communes, in Rome the commune, which had just been formed, overthrew the consular rule of the nobility, and erected the Communal Council in its place, according it the Roman name of the Senate (*Sacer Senatus*).

Moreover, the revolution had originated with the nobility themselves after their quarrel with the pope respecting Tivoli, and the burgher class raised its head for the first time during this revolt. Sudden though the rise may have been, it had long been prepared; for the *scholæ* of the militia, which had

¹ As early as 1130 we find sixty Senators and a committee of six nobles, who concede exemption from duty in Roman harbours to Monte Casino. *Nos Leo Romanor. Consul, et Leo Frangipane et Cincio Frangip. Petrus Frangipane, Filippus de Alberico, Henricus de S. Eustachio una cum sexaginta Senatoribus, et cuncto populo rom. urbis concedimus in perpet.,—ut monachi cum navib. secure pergant—Temp. Honorii ppe. II. Militantibus dignitates, hobedientibus pacem, rebellibus anatema.* The fragment in the register Petri Diacon., n. 605.

acquired strength in the wars of the eleventh century, already formed political corporations, coveted a share in the government, and meditated the erection of a democratic republic. The tyranny of factions rendered feudal dominion, which favoured the Papacy, insupportable to the populace. A party among the nobles regarded the pope as a territorial lord, and even the actual head of Rome, to whom belonged the investiture of the imperium. This was the genuine feudal aristocracy of the popes, their political support in Rome, and the earthly splendour of their court. The popes conferred on these vassals estates and taxes, and invested them with prefectures, curial dignities, judgeships, or consulates in city or province. They dexterously divided the advantages, however, or kept their *protégés* severed by jealousy. They more gladly endured the faithlessness of these consuls than the chance that they should look for support to the burghers, whose public spirit they feared to awake. For the fate of the popes would in this case have been the fate of all other bishops, who with the rise of the communes lost their civic power.

Foundation
of the
Roman
commune
and of the
Senate
on the
Capitol.

A spark finally sufficed to kindle the burgher revolution, which was perhaps associated by secret, and to us unknown, ties with Northern Italy. In 1143 Rome made the attempt to form an association of the different classes, such as had been formed in Milan, Pisa, Genoa, and other cities. The lesser nobility, from jealousy towards the "consuls," united with the burghers, the new commune seized the Capitol, declared themselves the actual Senate and made war against, or banished all such nobles as

refused to join them. The captains immediately rose, also the members of the imperial party, and the company of the pope, and Rome was divided between two hostile camps, the ancient consular party of the aristocrats and the new senatorial commune of the people on the Capitol.

The establishment of a free burgher class deserves to distinguish a new era in the history of Rome, and the tranquil spectator of history gazes with astonishment on the ruins of the now legendary Capitol, occupied by a rude and ignorant people who called their leaders Senators. These men knew nothing of Cicero or Hortensius, of Cato or Cæsar, but like the ancient plebeians made war on a haughty race of patricians, of wholly or partly barbarous descent. They deprived the High Priest of Rome of the temporal crown, demanded that the emperor of German race should recognise them as invested with the majesty of the Roman people, and on the ruins of ancient temples still asserted that Golden Rome was mistress of the world.

2. THE CAPITOL IN THE DARK CENTURIES—ITS GRADUAL POLITICAL RENASCENCE—GLANCE AT ITS RUINS—WHERE DID THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER STAND?—S. MARIA IN ARACELI—LEGEND OF OCTAVIAN'S VISION—THE PALATIUM OCTAVIANI—THE FIRST SENATORIAL PALACE OF THE MIDDLE AGES ON THE CAPITOL.

It is well worth while to bestow a glance on the tragic world of ruins standing on the Capitol, and to pass in rapid review the history of the venerable seat

The
Capitol
in 1143.

of the ancient Roman empire during the dark centuries. Night, however, veils the most exalted spot in history for more than five hundred years. No historian has mentioned the Capitol since the time of Cassiodorus. The *Anonymous* of Einsiedeln merely gives it a cursory glance; tradition and legend speak confusedly of this wonder of the world, and in the tenth century the convent of the Virgin Mary in Capitolio appears among the ruins of nameless temples. The remains of these various buildings were never adapted to the uses of any civic fortress; nor is the ancient Arx with its Tarpeian rock ever mentioned with the Septizonium and S. Angelo as a principal fortress. The Capitol no longer commanded any of the great high roads, since the surrounding district, especially the ancient Forum, had become deserted, and the population retired ever further into the Field of Mars towards the Tiber, which had become important for strategic reasons. It was merely the inextinguishable tradition of all that the Capitol had once signified that now raised it from its obscurity, and which, as soon as the spirit of civic freedom was awakened, made it once more the political head of the city. As early as the eleventh century the Capitol appears as the centre of all purely civic affairs. In the time of Otto III. and of the noble patricians, the recollection of the sacred spot was revived; the ruins of the Capitol, reanimated by the assemblies of the nobles and people, now usurped the place of the *Tria Fata*. In the time of Benzo, Gregory VII., and Gelasius II. at the disturbances on the election of a prefect, at the acclamation

of the election of Calixtus II., it was again from the Capitol that the Romans were summoned to parliament or to arms. It would also appear that the City Prefect dwelt on the Capitol, since the Prefect of Henry IV., by whom Victor III. was driven from Rome, had his seat there, and a palace on the hill was used for tribunals, the acts of which were signed with the formula: *Actum civitate Romana apud Capitolium*.¹

The most vivid imagination is powerless to depict the melancholy grandeur of these ruins. Sitting on the prostrate columns of the Temple of Jupiter, or within the vaults of the office of State Archives, among mutilated statues and inscriptions, the monk of the Capitol, the rapacious Consul, or the ignorant Senator might gaze in wonder at the ruins and meditate on the capriciousness of fortune. The sight of these ruins might recall to his mind the lines of Virgil, where the poet, speaking of the Capitol, says:—

“Now golden, where once throve the tangled wood” ;
and as he now saw the hill returned to its original condition he must have reversed the line and exclaimed:—

“Once golden, now with thorns and ruins spread.”²

The greater number of the Romans of this age only knew of Virgil as a magician, who had fled from

¹ Document of April 29, 1084 (*Reg. Farf.*, n. 1098). The *apud Capitolium* signifies, I believe, the monastery of Aracœli.

² *Aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis. Ut quidam is versus merito possit converti: Aurea quondam, nunc squallida spœctis repribusque referta*; thus Poggio on the ruins of the Capitol in 1431 (*Historie de l'aristotele Fortune*, i. 6).

Anaclete
II. presents
the Capitol
to the
convent of
Aracœli.

Rome to Naples and had enriched both cities with magic works of art. The Senators who went to and fro among the ruins, wearing tall mitres and gold-brocaded mantles, had but a dim idea that here in former time statesmen had framed laws, orators had made speeches, triumphs had been celebrated over foreign nations, and the fate of the world had been decided. There is no more bitter satire on all the most exalted things of earth, than the fact that Rome knew a time when her Capitol was given into the possession of monks who prayed, sang psalms, scourged their backs with whips and planted cabbages upon its ruins. Anaclete II. ratified the Abbot of S. Maria in Aracœli in possession of the Capitoline hill: and his Bull throws a passing light on this labyrinth of grottoes, cells, courts and gardens, houses or huts, and on the ruinous walls, stones and pillars with which it was covered.

The ancient Clivus still led to the Capitoline hill, but other roads also connected the Field of Mars with the Aracœli and the Piazza. The ruins of the Capitol, which were increased under the attacks of Henry IV., Guiscard, and Paschalis II., lay in the most utter desolation. As on the Palatine, gardens

¹ The Privilegium for S. Maria in Capitolio, which is without a date, is inserted in a Bull of Innocent IV., in Wadding, *Annal. Minor.*, ii. 255, explained by Casimiro, p. 431, after Valesius, in the collection of Calogera, xx. p. 103; also in Fœa, *Sulle Rov.*, p. 358, and Preller, *Philol.*, 1846. Of its authenticity I have no doubt; the phrase *hortos quos hæredes Johannis di Guinizo tenuerunt* is a guarantee of that period (see one of the heirs of this Roman, note ¹, p. 456). *Confirmamus totum Alontem Capitolii in integr. cum casis, cryptis, cellis, curtibus, hortis, arboribus—cum parietibus, petris et columpnis.*

had been planted and goat-herds already clambered over the marble ruins ; a part of the Capitol had even received the degraded name of Goat-hill (Monte Caprino) in the same way that the Forum had been transformed into the Campo Vaccino. Stalls had been erected on the piazza of the Capitol, and the Roman people had long held their markets here.¹ Besides the monks in S. Maria and the priests of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, or the inhabitants of the towers of the Corsi, the hill numbered but a scanty population ; on the other hand, it was still surrounded with ancient streets, such as the Clivus Argentarius (*Salita di Marforio*), probably also the Vicus Jugarius, at a greater distance the Cannapara and the Forum Olitorium, the present Piazza Montanara, while churches and chapels built upon ruins surrounded the entire mound of marble fragments.²

The ruins of such temples and porticos as covered the summit of the Capitol have now disappeared. The last remains of the Temples of Saturn and of Vespasian, the foundations of the Temple of Concordia, the still undestroyed vaults of the Archives, the chambers of the school of Xanthus, the remains of the Rostrum and of the Miliarium Aureum, finally the Arch of Septimius Severus, which in tranquil

¹ *Cum terra ante Monasterium, qui locus Nundinarum vocatur* (Bull of Anaclete) and further below *argasteria in Mercato*. The market covered the Piazza Aracoeli and extended down to S. Venanzio, previously called S. Giovanni in Mercato. It was only in 1477 that it was removed to the Piazza Navona.

² We still see many remains of antiquity below the Capitol. In No. 35 Via della Bufala, a half-buried portico forms the back of a workshop.

strength has bid defiance to the changes of time, are all that remain on the Clivus at the present day. In the twelfth century these and all other monuments still presented the spectacle of a deserted acropolis, out of whose dust a forest of shattered columns majestically towered. The passing description of the *Mirabilia* sheds only a rosy evening light upon these ruins, and other accounts of this period fail us. It is worth while to read what the *Mirabilia* say :—

“OF THE CAPITOL IN ROME.

Description
of the
Capitol
in the
Mirabilia.

“It is called Capitol because it was the head (*caput*) of the whole world, because the Consuls and Senators dwelt there to rule the city and the world. Its face was protected by high and strong walls, which were everywhere covered with panels of glass and gold and marvellously inlaid works. Within the fortress was a palace, in great part made of gold and adorned with precious stones, which was worth the third part of the world; there were as many statues as provinces of the world, and each statue had a bell at its neck. Magic art had so disposed them, that when any region in the Roman empire rebelled, its representative statue immediately turned in its direction; the bell at its neck then sounded and the seers of the Capitol who kept watch gave information to the Senate. . . . There were also several temples, for on the summit of the fortress over the Porticus Crinorum was the Temple of Jupiter and Moneta; on the side of the Forum the Temple of Vesta and Cæsar and the seat of the Pagan pontifices, to which the Senators raised Julius Cæsar

on the sixth day in the month of March. On the other side of the Capitol and over the Cannapara stood the Temple of Juno next the public Forum of Hercules. Within the Tarpeium was the Temple of Refuge where Julius Cæsar was murdered by the Senators. Two temples were united with the palace on the spot where S. Maria now stands, those of Phoebus and of Carmentis, where the Emperor Octavian saw the vision in the skies. Near the Camelaria is the Temple of Janus, who was the guardian of the Capitol. It was called the golden Capitol because it outshone all kingdoms of the world in wisdom and beauty."¹

The Bull of Anacleto, an isolated document, stirs the imagination more than it satisfies the desire for information.² Antiquaries are still employed in investigating the darkest of all topographical problems

¹ *Liber de mirabilibus Romæ*. Similarly the *Graphia*, which adds : *In Capitolio fuerunt imagines fusiles omnium regum trojanorum et imperatorum* ; and says that it was covered with glass and gold, *ut esset speculum omnibus gentibus*. Even for these books of legend everything is antiquity and mystery.

² The Bull only describes the boundaries. It mentions the *Porticus Camellariæ* (not *Cancellariæ*, as Fea writes it ; other places where large *cameræ* existed, were also thus called) ; the *clivus Argentariis*, *qui nunc descensus Leonis Prothi appellatur* ; *Templum majus quod respicit super Alephantum* (*Elephantus herbarius* ; the adjacent quarter was called after it : in the *Reg. Sublat.*, about the year 1003, I find *Lanfrido lanista de alefanto*). *Exinde descendit per hortum S. Sergii usque in hortum, qui est sub Cancellaria, veniens per gradus centum usque ad primum affinem*. This was the old staircase of a hundred steps, which Tacitus mentions on the occasion of the attack made by the followers of Vitellius : *qua Tarpeja rupe centum gradibus aditur*. *A cavea in qua est petra versificata*. For the entire document, see *Ordo Rom.*, xi. (Mabillon, *Mus. It.*, ii. 143).

in Rome, namely, the question as to the site of the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. After the time that the Vandals had plundered the Sanctuary and had robbed it of its roof, it sank into utter oblivion. The *Mirabilia* first recalls the memory of the Temple, after legend had already sanctified the Capitol with one of its most suggestive poems. That the chief temple of Rome, the seat of the cult of the Pagan religion, had not been transformed into a basilica of the Christian God at an earlier date than the Pantheon, will always appear strange, even although explained by the horror with which Christians regarded Paganism, and by the proprietary right claimed by the Byzantine emperor.

Site of the
Temple of
Jupiter
on the
Capitol.

We are, however (although only recently), in a position to point out the site of the lost Temple. The *Graphia* says: "On the summit of the fortress over the Porticus Crinorum stood the Temple of Jupiter and Moneta, where the golden statue of Jupiter sat on a golden throne." We are now able to show that the portico of that name must have belonged to the ancient Forum Olitorium.¹ Other mediæval names have supported the view that the Temple of Jupiter was situated on the western height (Caffarelli). The western position of the Tarpeian rock and the site of the Temple itself were established with probability by two churches as early as the fifteenth century.² And just as the recollection of

¹ Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii. 353, 460. Remains of this colonnade are believed to exist in some houses in the *Vicolo della Bufala*. Lanciani, *Bull. Com.*, iii. 172.

² It was not until after Nardini that the Italians placed it on the

the *Saxum Tarpeium* was preserved in the name of the church *S. Catarina sub Tarpeio*, the Temple of Jupiter Maximus was sought above *S. Salvatore in Maximis*.¹ Excavations made in the Caffarelli Gardens since 1865 have conclusively established that the Temple of Jupiter stood on this spot.²

The supposition that the church of *S. Maria* occupies the site of this Temple consequently falls to the ground.

This, the only church which the Romans erected on the Capitoline hill, towers in a commanding position above the ancient *Arx*. It is not, however, mentioned in the minute catalogues of the churches

height of *Araceli*, the Germans (Becker, i. 387, very decidedly) on the Caffarelli. Is it possible that the position of the *Saxum Tarpeium* could have been already forgotten in the twelfth century? We have still the *Via di rupe Tarpea* near the *Tor de' Specchi*, and there stood *S. Caterina sub Tarpeio* (Martinelli, p. 352). Faunus, iii. c. 6; Maurus, c. 5, p. 40; Gamucci, p. 64. The *Vita Paschalis* says: *qua Capitolii rupes adibus Petri Leonis imminet*, and these houses stood beside the Theatre of Marcellus.

¹ *Anon. Magliab.* (time of John XXIII.): *fuit templum Jovis Opt. Max, i. e. Supra cortem domna mitima quod adhuc satis de eo apparet: et introitus vocatur Salvator in Maximis*. Blondus, Marliani, and Martinelli upheld the statement. This church remained on Monte Caprino against the Montanara until the sixteenth century. The *templum majus, quod respicit super Alephantum* is doubtful; it may have been the Theatre of Marcellus. The *templum Jovis* of the *Anonymous* of Einsiedeln (Inscription, n. 72: *usque ad S. Angel. et templum Jovis*) was not, as Preller believes, the Capitoline Temple, but the *basilica Jovis* in the Portico of Octavia (*templum Severianum* in the Middle Ages) where *S. Angelo* stands. This church was consequently called *S. Angeli juxta templum Jovis* in the twelfth century. (Letter of Anaclete's cardinals to Lothar.)

² Shown by R. Lanciani, *Bullett. Comm.*, 1875, p. 165 f.; O. Richter, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom.*, 1889, p. 90 f.

and convents made in the time of Leo III. (about 850). It therefore follows, either that it was not built in the reign of this pope or else that it was regarded as an insignificant oratory.¹

Its surname, "in the Altar of heaven," unknown before the fourteenth century, is associated with an ancient legend, originally Greek, which was accepted in the Roman *Mirabilia*.² When the Senators beheld the indescribable beauty of Octavian, and the prosperity of his rule, they said to him, "We are determined to worship thee, because a divinity is in thee." Dismayed, he asked them to wait, summoned the Sibyl of Tibur, and informed her of the resolution of the Senate. She demanded a delay of three days, and, the emperor having fasted during the interval, she prophesied: "There are signs that justice shall be done, sweat shall soon drip from the earth; from

¹ I quoted in vol. iii. p. 546, a document from the *Reg. Sublac.*, in which Teuzo, Abbot of the *Monasterii S. Dei genitricis virginis Marie qui ponitur in Capitolio*, cedes a property in Aricia to Berno and Stephanina. The document is dated *Ind. II. m. Febr. die XII. a. Dom Marini S. Pont. Primi Pape*. Like Fatteschi, I consequently attributed this document to Marinus I. and to the year 884. I am now, however, in favour of Marinus II. and the year 944, since further on in the text we find *D. Marini junioris*. The witness *Georgius secundicerius* also appears as *secundicerius* of Marinus II. (Jaffé). See *Reg. Sublac.*, p. 94, where the document is referred to the year 944. The monastery was simply called *Mon. S. M. in Capitolio*, or *Mon. Capitolii*; thus in 1015: *Ego Dominicus Abbas Capitolii*; Casimiro, p. 7. The term *Capitolium* applied to the entire hill; to suppose that from the words *in Capitolio*, the Temple of Jupiter must be inferred, is inadmissible. In like manner men spoke of *S. Maria in Palladio* (Palatine) and *in Aventino*.

² It was known to Malalas, Cedrenus, Suidas; see on this subject Arturo Graf, *Roma nella Memoria del. med. evo*, i. 311 f.

heaven shall come the King of the centuries."¹ As Octavian attentively listened to the Sibyl, the skies suddenly opened, an overpowering light fell upon him, he saw the radiant Virgin over an altar in heaven, holding the infant Christ in her arms. A celestial voice cried, "This is the Virgin who will conceive the Saviour of the world"; another proclaimed, "This is the altar of the Son of God." Octavian threw himself on the ground in prayer; he informed the Senators of his vision, and another day, when the people had resolved to call him Lord, he forbade them both by hand and mouth. For not even from his own children would he receive the title, saying, "I am mortal, and hence it does not befit me to receive the name of Lord."²

Legend of
Octavian
and the
Sibyl.

¹ *Judicii signum tellus sudore madescet,
E celo rex adveniet per secla futurus,
Scilicet in carne presens ut indicet orbem.*

² The *Graphia* does not associate this legend with Virgil; its connection with the fourth Eclogue was, however, known at this time. Thus Innocent III. (*Sermo*, ii., Op. 88; Piper, *Virgilius*, 1862) refers to it. The legend is ancient and of Greek origin. It is found in Suidas, who relates, s.v. "Augustus," that he questioned the Pythia as to who should rule after him; *cui illa respondit* :—

*Puer Hebræus jubet me, diis beatiss imperans,
Hanc adem relinquere, et in orbem redire.
Jam abito tacitus ab aris nostris.*

Augustus thereupon built an altar on the Capitol with the inscription : *Hæc ara est Primogeniti Dei*. The legend was accepted later by Nicephorus (*Hist. Eccl.*, i. 17). It is also given by an ancient Latin Chronicle, the *Chronicon Palatinum* (Mai, *Spicileg. Roman.*, ix.). The editor places it at least as early as the eighth century; Bethmann in the seventh (*Bullettino Arch.*, 1852, p. 38). Godfrey of Viterbo, about 1180, is acquainted with the legend (*Pantheon*, xv.). Muratori extracted it from a codex in Modena (*Antiq.*, iii. 879). The vision is

This beautiful legend goes on to relate that Octavian erected an altar on the Capitol, "To the first-born Son of God." In the twelfth century the words "*ubi est ara filii Dei*" were accordingly added as a designation to S. Maria. They appear to have been corrupted later into Araceli.¹ But it is very remarkable that this ancient legend in no way associates the altar with the Temple of Jupiter. It merely relates that Octavian had erected the altar either on the Capitol or on some lofty spot. If the church in Araceli had actually usurped the place of the ancient temple, the fact would assuredly have been somehow preserved in legend or tradition.²

depicted in a rude relief on the ancient altar in the chapel of S. Helena in Araceli, which bears the inscription:—

*Luminis hanc almam matris qui scandis ad aulam,
Cunctarum prima quæ fuit orbe sita ;
Nosce quod Cæsar tunc struxit Octavianus
Hanc. Ara celi sacra proles cum patet ei.*

¹ The *Catalogue of the Roman Abbeys* of Peter Mallius and John Diaconus (end of the twelfth century) says: *S. M. in Capitolio, ubi est ara Filii Dei*. Later Martin Polonus wrote: *hæc visio fuit in Camera Octaviani Imp., ubi nunc est Eccl. B. M. in Capitolio. Ideo dicta est Eccl. S. M. Ara Celi*. Niebuhr and Becker believe that the name in Araceli was derived from *in Arce*. It might more probably have arisen from *Auracelo* (*calo Aureo*), a name which other churches—for example, one in Pavia—bore. It is curious that the Temple of Juno Moneta had received its surname from a divine voice which was audible within it. Cicero, *de divin.*, i. 45, in Becker, i. 409. The Italian archaeologists also place the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius on Araceli, and the *Anon. Magliab.* says: *palatium Octaviani fuit, ubi nunc est S. M. araceli; et vocatus est locus ferferum, quia ibi fuit templum Jovis Feretrii*.

² The legend of the *Mirabilia* removes the site of the vision to the Palace of Octavian, not to the Temple of Jupiter. The *Chron. Palatinum* also merely says: *Oct. abiit in Capitolium, quod est in*

The stillness as of the grave which broods over the Capitol in the Middle Ages is thus only broken by a convent-bell and a legend. Over the deserted stage of the deeds and triumphs of the Scipios and the Gracchi, of Marius and Sulla, of Pompey and Cæsar, now hover the visionary forms of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus, the figures of Octavian and of the aged Sibyl, whose mysterious books had once been guarded in the Capitol!

That in the eleventh century the legend was already associated with the spot, is rendered indisputable by the mention of the "Palace of Octavian" as Benzo's dwelling-place, since nowhere but on the Capitol can this dwelling have been situated. It were important to discover the site and the uses of this palace, which we may suppose as standing in the neighbourhood of the convent of Aracœli. In the short review given of the palaces by the *Mirabilia*, no building of the kind is mentioned on the Capitol ;¹

The
Palace of
Octavian
on the
Capitol.

medio urbis, where the *Pythonia* announced *quod infans hebreus jubente Deo e caelo beator. descendens, in hoc domicilium statim veniet—quare exiens inde Aug. Cæsar a divinatione, edificavit in Capitolio aram magnam in sublimiori loco, in qua et scripsit latinis literis dicens: Hæc ara filii Dei est. Ubi factum est, post tot annos, domicilium atque basilica b. et s. virginis Mariæ usque in præsentem diem, sicut et Timotheus chronographus commemorat* (Timotheus in Malalas, p. 98, only speaks of the *ara*, erected by Augustus). We see how utter is the silence respecting the Temple of Jupiter, the traces of which had been lost at the time of the *Mirabilia*, which only casually mention the legend: *in loco ubi nunc est S. Maria fuerunt duo templa simul juncta cum palatio, Phœbi et Carmentis, ubi Octavianus imp. vidit visionem in celo.*

¹ Its *Palatium Octaviani ad S. Laurentium in Lucina* is the *arcus Octaviani*; the text is well acquainted with the *palatium Octaviani* on the Capitol.

in the sequel, however, it speaks vaguely of a palace of the Capitol. This palace was inside the fortress, and was adorned with gold and gems, and in it stood the sounding statues of the provinces. The *Mirabilia* clearly associates the palatium where Octavian saw the celestial vision with the church of S. Maria, and it consequently follows that it must have been a portion of the convent building itself. Finally, "the Palace of the Senators on the Capitol or Tarpeus" is specially mentioned in the summary of the hills of Rome, the writer undoubtedly speaking of it as existing in his time.¹ It is scarcely probable that in these three palaces, thus severally mentioned, one and the same building was intended, since several ruins stood on the Capitol, and in the Middle Ages the word "palatium" was bestowed on different kinds of ruins. Did the remains of the Temple of Jupiter survive until the Middle Ages, it is possible that the name of palatium may have been applied to them, but whether this was actually the case, we cannot now determine. Of the three palaces mentioned in the *Mirabilia*, the Palatium of the Capitol has therefore perished and become legendary; the Palatium of Octavian, the dwelling of Benzo, formed a part of the monastery of Aracœli, which was built out of the ruins of the earlier structure; and finally the Palace

¹ (1) *Infra arcem fuit palatium, quod erat pro magna parte aureum—ubi tot statuæ erant etc.* (2) *Ubi nunc est S. Maria fuerunt duo templa simul juncta cum Palatio, Phœbi et Carmentis, ubi Octavian. Imp. vidit visionem in celo.* (3) *Capitolium vel Tarpeus, ubi est palatium Senatorum.* What the *Ars* signified at the time of the *Mirabilia* cannot be ascertained, and the same may be said of the *Tarpeus* and *Capitolium*.

of the Senators, the only one of the three that we are able to determine, is the actual mediæval senatorial palace. Among the ruins of ancient monuments on which the eye rested on the Capitol, there were none mightier than the ancient office of State Archives, or the so-called Tabularium, belonging to republican times, with its gigantic walls of peperino, its lordly halls, and its vaulted chambers. The author who described the city in the twelfth century, and, in his cursory enumeration of the hills, only mentioned the Palatium of the Senators, must undoubtedly have thereby understood this mighty building. The populace, looking on the marvellous work, imagined that the ancient Consuls or Senators had dwelt within it, and the nobility of the twelfth century, beyond the church of Aracœli, found no more fitting spot for its meetings ; neither did the populace discover one more suitable when they determined to reinstate the Senate. We must consequently suppose that the Tabularium, which later became the actual Senate-House, had already been adapted to the uses of a Senate.¹ It was here that the shadow of the Roman republic reappeared in 1143, hovering fantastically over the ruins—itself a legend or a vision of the antiquity whose remembrance gladdened the hearts of its degenerate descendants.²

¹ *In Capitolio in consistorio novo palatii* is written as early as the year 1150. *Chron. Pisan.* in Murat., vi. 171. De Rossi, *Piante Icnograf.*, p. 82. This is the first mention of the Palace of the Senate in the Middle Ages. Camillo del Re, "Il Campidoglio e le sue adiacenze nel sec. XIV." (*Bull. Com.*, x., 1882, 96).

² Arnold of Brescia summoned the Romans to restore the Capitol ; could this mean anything but to restore the greatest ruin, the Tabu-

3. ARNOLD OF BRESCIA—HIS FIRST APPEARANCE—HIS RELATIONS WITH ABELARD—HIS DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE SECULARISATION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE—HIS CONDEMNATION BY THE POPE—HIS FLIGHT AND DISAPPEARANCE—CELESTINE II.—LUCIUS II.—STRUGGLE OF THE POPE AND CONSULS WITH THE SENATE—THE PATRICIUS JORDAN PIERLEONE—THE SENATORIAL ÆRA—LUCIUS II. AND CONRAD III.—UNFORTUNATE END OF LUCIUS II.

The restoration of the Senate was not entirely an illusion. It was an actual fact, and redounds as much to the honour of the Romans of the Middle Ages as the procession to the sacred hill had redounded to the honour of their ancestors. A celebrated reformer of the time, Arnold of Brescia, is erroneously held to have been the leader of a revolution which was due instead to the impulses of the time and to the special conditions of Rome. To wrest the power from the nobility, to deprive the clergy of their estates, the

larium, as the meeting place of the Senate, and also, perhaps, to restore the Arx? Was the Tabularium called *Camellaria* in the Middle Ages? A brief of Innocent III. (Ep. ii. 101, A. 1199) speaks of an upper and a lower story of the *Camellaria* on the slope of the Capitol, the possession of which was shared by the convents of S. Maria and S. Sergius. *Inferioris vero camellariæ parochiani et ejusd. camell. proprietatem; ita quod nulla injuria inferatur habitatoribus ipsius camellariæ ab habitatoribus superioris camellariæ.* The *Mirabilia* mention the *camellaria* beside the *templum Jani* (the *Cod. Pragensis* of Höfler actually *subtus capitolium*) and they know well the *ararium publicum, quod erat. t. Saturni*. For all these reasons, I reject the opinion of Bunsen and others, that the *Camellaria* was the Tabularium, and rather hold it to have been the *Basilica Argentariorum*, or a building with a portico in its neighbourhood.

pope of the principality, and to transfer his sovereign rights to the commune, were clear historical aims, which required no teaching. Since the quarrel for investitures, the lower class had struggled against the secular and spiritual feudal system; the passion for freedom of the Italian republics destroyed the feudalism of the old Frankish empire, and the breath of heretical criticism already penetrated the dead learning of monasticism. Nothing consequently is more absurd than to assert that the destruction of feudalism was the main object of the twelfth century, or to assume that any demagogue of the time dreamed of a European federal republic.¹

Owing to ignorance of the Middle Ages, these ideas have been ascribed to Arnold of Brescia, who undoubtedly exercised a great influence on some departments of civic life. Arnold, Abelard, S. Bernard are noteworthy contemporaries and the heroes of a great drama in the history of culture. As soon as the young democracies, still doubtful and insecure, and still under the shadow of the Church and of the empire, reached maturity, a man such as Arnold, filled with enthusiasm for the practical liberty of the citizen, must necessarily

Arnold of
Brescia.

¹ Franke, *Arnold v. Brescia und Seine Zeit*, Zürich, 1825, commits this anachronism. We possess some other monographs: by Federico Odorici, *Arnaldo da Brescia* (1861); by Georges Guibal, *Arnauld de Brescia et les Hohenstaufen ou la question du pouvoir temporel de la Papauté au moyen âge*, Paris, 1868. To the fugitive notices of Otto of Freising has lately been associated the *Historia Pontificalis* (written in 1162 or 1163, edited 1868 in t. xx. of the *Mon. Germ.*), of which John of Salisbury is acknowledged the author. See Giesebrecht, *Arnold von Brescia*, Munich, 1873; and his statement of these circumstances in vol. iv. of the *Gesch. der deutschen Kaiserzeit*.

have arisen in Lombardy,—a popular tribune in the habit of the priest,—a man whose earnest spirit cherished the ideal of the Church purified from the worldliness and infidelity which had disgraced her. Abelard the philosophic, and Arnold the political heretic stood on the common platform of the independence of the burgher class. After the gloomy heroes of dogmatic supremacy, after popes like Gregory, after emperors like Henry, it is satisfactory to see martyrs to freedom arise, men bearing in their hands the banners of a nobler humanity, and the bloodless but formidable weapons of free thought and free will.

His
doctrines
concerning
the secular-
isation
of the
property
of the
Church.

The circumstances of Arnold's life are very obscure. He was born at Brescia in the beginning of the twelfth century, wandered to France, and studied dialectics and theology under Abelard, whose companion he probably was for years. Returning to Brescia, he formally became a canon, but plunged into the struggle which the citizens were waging against their Bishop Manfred. The movement was headed by the Consuls Rebald and Persicus, and Arnold inflamed the popular discontent by speeches in which he inveighed against the unapostolic worldliness of the priests. According to his theory, the possession of any property by the clergy was contrary to Christianity; he maintained that all civic power belonged to princes and republics, and that the tithes alone should be allotted to the clergy. Brescia was a seat of the Patarines: and it now became the theatre of scenes such as had been enacted in Milan; the vigorous popular orator

recalled Ariald, although he did not share Ariald's aims. The clergy were so utterly corrupt that it seemed as if Gregory VII. had lived in vain. The long quarrel for investitures, the schisms and factions, in which bishops fought now for Rome, now for Germany, had so entirely demoralised the prelates that words failed to describe them. A satirist, listening to the denunciations of a saint of this period, would laughingly have asked in what the reforms of an entire century consisted, when in 1140 S. Bernard or S. Anselm was obliged to depict the vices of the clergy with the gloomy colours used by Damian. "Could I," thus sighed the Abbot of Clairvaux, "but see before my death the Church of God as she was in ancient days, when the apostles cast their nets to capture not gold or silver but souls!"¹

Enlightened opinion had long recognised the source of these evils; neither councils nor monastic orders could cure them; the remedy was, that the bishops should be deprived of the temporal power. The recognition of this great principle was one of the results of the quarrel for investitures: and even a pope had recognised it in his direst need. Arnold revived the idea of Paschalis II., and preached it openly in the streets of free cities, in discourses

¹ *Quis mihi det, antequam moriar, videre Ecclesiam Dei, sicut in diebus antiquis, quando apostoli laxabant retia in capturam, non in capturam auri vel argenti, sed—animarum?* Ep. 238, to Eugenius III. A hundred years later Master Freygedank says:—

Roman nets catch
Silver, gold, and land;
This S. Peter knew full well.

which harmonised with the spirit of the age and with the needs of the people. This was the practical result of the ancient struggle, which had passed beyond the region of royal courts into civic curiæ and the market-place.

The progress which society had made, chiefly owing to the struggles of the State against the hierarchy of the Gregorian Church, was immense; the political and social movements of races, the revival of industry, of traffic, of learning, the newly awakened love of classic antiquity, suddenly brought the world into bitter antagonism with the Church, and the Romans who struggled against the *Dominium Temporale* of the popes in the twelfth century gave vent to their opinions as clearly and decidedly as their descendants of the present day.

Arnold's doctrine resounded loudly throughout Lombardy and Rome; for the subject of his teaching, the secularisation of the States of the Church, was the necessity of the time. The people of Brescia, however, were not always successful in resisting the combined forces of the clergy and the captains; Manfred denounced Arnold's principles at the Lateran Council of 1139, and Innocent II. understood what their consequences would be for Rome, where the republican party only awaited an opportunity for effecting a breach. He condemned Arnold as a schismatic, imposed silence upon him, and banished him from Italy.¹ Exiled from Brescia, he

Arnold is
condemned
by the
Council,
1139.

¹ Otto of Freising, *De Gestis Fried.*, lib. ii. c. 21. Otto's account is embodied in Gunther's poem *Ligurinus*, which modern criticism first ascribed to Conrad Celtes or some other humanist, but afterwards

journeyed to Abelard, who hoped to overcome the mystic Bernard at a scholastic tournament to be held at Sens in the spring of 1140. Arnold openly defended Abelard, and found himself involved in the trial which awaited his teacher. The sentence of the Roman Council had given him celebrity; his friendship with Abelard made him still more hated by the clergy, and Bernard now appeared against him, armed with the weapons of discipline. Nevertheless, there were points in which Bernard was at union with his abhorred enemy. With no less vehemence than the demagogue of Brescia did he scourge the worldly vices of the bishops, and in his book, *De Consideratione*, he soon after explained himself to a pope, his pupil, as strongly opposed to the political position of the clergy. He based his evangelical demands on the apostolic precept, that he who served the Lord should not occupy himself with worldly matters. He reminded the pope that his dignity was a spiritual office, not a lordship, that he ought to wield the gardener's spade, not the royal sceptre, that his dominion had perhaps a secular but never an apostolic right, lordship having been forbidden to the apostles. Inspired by enthusiasm for early Christianity, he sighed that the

S. Bernard
condemns
the
temporal
power of
the pope.

pronounced genuine. A. Pannenberg, *Forsch. u. deutsch. Gesch.*, xi. (1871), xiii. (1873). S. Bernhard, vol. i. cp. 195: *accusatus apud D. Papam schismate pessimo*. *Hist. Pontificalis*, p. 537. Of actual heresy he was not accused, although his opinions concerning the eucharist and baptism were not those of the Catholics. This is shown by his adhesion to the ideas of Berengar, Abelard, the Peterbrusians, &c. See the nineteenth article of Abelard's *Scito te ipsum* and the *Theol. christiana*, in the *Tract. de Erroribus Abelardi* of S. Bernard.

He
opposes
Arnold as
a heretic.

bishops and popes went about clothed like secular courtiers, in silk, purple and gold, raiment such as Peter had never known ; and he finally told the pope that, appearing in this worldly guise, he was the successor not of Peter but of Constantine.¹ If the saint persecuted a reformer of morals, whose opinions concerning the temporal rule of the clergy he endorsed instead of condemning, it was simply because Arnold fought not against moral corruption alone, but also against the authority of the Roman chair and the Gregorian hierarchy, and because he was odious to Bernard as a heretic. The great abbot sighed that the Church, the pure lily among thorns, was surrounded by sectarians, that she had only escaped from the lion (Pierleone) to fall a prey to the dragon (Abelard). He wrote to the pope: he designated Arnold as the armour-bearer to Goliath Abelard, and accused both of heresy.² The pope ordered them to be confined in monasteries; the friend of Heloise, however, weary of life, found refuge in reconciliation with the Church, and two years after ended his days peacefully at Cluny. Arnold, full of courage and longing for action, continued from the

¹ The verdict of S. Bernard against the *Dominium Temporale* does not admit of dispute. I quote some sentences from his book *de Consideratione*: *Nemo militans Deo, implicat se negotiis secularibus.—Quid fines alienos invaditis?—Disce, sarculo tibi opus esse, non sceptro; ut opus facias Propheta.—Esto, ut alia quacunque ratione, hæc tibi vendices; sed non Apostolico jure.—Planum est: Apostolis interdictur dominatus.—Forma Apostolica hæc est: dominatio interdictur: indicitur ministratio.—In his successistis non Petro, sed Constantino.* These principles are diametrically opposed to the hierarchical doctrines of Gregory VII.

² Ep. 189.

hill of S. Geneviève in Paris to inveigh unhindered against the worldliness of the clergy, until Bernard procured his expulsion from France.¹ A fugitive, Arnold journeyed further. Little Zürich received him, and, 400 years before the time of Zwingli, acquired a right to the gratitude of all the advocates of liberty of thought. He here found adherents even among the higher nobility.² But the Abbot of Clairvaux required the Metropolitan of Constance to secure the heretic, although in his unctuous letter he was obliged to admit that Arnold was a man of irreproachable life, one who, as he expressed it, "neither ate nor drank, but fasted with the devil, and who only thirsted for the blood of souls."³

Arnold in
Zürich.

The persecuted man found a still more influential protector in Guido, the highly educated cardinal who had formerly been his fellow-student in Paris, and was now legate in Bohemia. Guido extended his protection to the fugitive in whatever part of Germany he might be, until the indefatigable man, who from the rock of Peter kept a watch over heretics, wrote indignantly to Guido: "Arnold of Brescia, whose speech is honey, but whose teaching is poison, who bears the head of a dove but the sting of a scorpion, whom Brescia drove forth, who is abhorred by Rome, banished by France, denounced

¹ *Hist. Pontif.*, p. 537.

² Otto of Freising, ii. c. 21 : *in oppido Alemanniae Turrego officium doctoris assumens, perniciosum dogma aliquot dieb. seminavit*. That which Johann v. Müller, and after him Franke, say of Arnold's influence on the Swiss republics, is exaggeration.

³ Ep. 195. A formal warrant of arrest, written by a saint. He also calls Abelard *intus Herodes, foris Johannes*. Ep. 193.

by Germany, and whom Italy refuses to receive, is, it is said, with you; take care that he does not injure the respect due to your office; to favour him means opposition to the commands of the pope and of God."¹ The effect of this exhortation is unknown; whether Arnold journeyed further, perhaps among the quiet Alpine valleys of the mystic Catharists, or whether he continued under the protection of the friendly cardinal, remains uncertain. To be brief, he vanished from sight for years, until he suddenly reappeared among the Roman republicans.²

Meanwhile Cardinal Guido, a Tuscan from Castello, became Pope.³ There is no doubt that Guido had also been a pupil of Abelard's; that he was a man of no common degree of culture, is proved by the honourable title of Magister, which he had acquired in France.⁴ He ascended the sacred chair as Celestine II. on September 26, 1143, only two days after the death of his predecessor; his hurried

Celestine
II., Pope,
1143-1144

¹ Ep. 196. Giesebrecht shows that this letter was not written after September 1143. Otto of Freising himself calls Bernard credulous and *zelotypus* (*De Gestis*, i. c. 47).

² Surprisingly few of his contemporaries speak of Arnold; even Malvezzi's *Chronicle of Brescia* passes him over in silence, and S. Bernard henceforward makes no mention of him.

³ Giesebrecht (*Arnold v. Brescia*) shows that this Guido was not identical with Arnold's protector of the same name.

⁴ *Chron. Mauriniac.*, p. 387: *Celestinus qui alio nomine Magister de Castellis nominatus est* (this was the *Castrum Felicitatis* in the State of the Church); three things had made him celebrated: *nobilitas generis, mentis industria in omni statu equalis, literarum scientia multiformis*. Peter of Cluny's letter testifies to the unanimity of his election (*Baron.*, A. 1143, n. xii.); and *Ep. I. Celestini ad Cluniacenses* (Mansi, xxi. 592).

election being due to the revolution then raging in Rome. His pontificate, however, only lasted five months, and the statement that he died at the Palladium renders it probable that he had been unable to come to any settlement with the Romans, but during a fierce conflict had been obliged to place himself under the protection of the Frangipani.¹

Celestine died on March 8, 1144, and his successor, Gerard Caccianemici from Bologna, formerly chancellor under Innocent, and legate in Germany at the time of the election of King Lothar, was proclaimed as Lucius II. on March 12. His short pontificate was unfortunate, and he himself fell a victim to the revolution. While the new commune on the Capitol organised itself amid deadly struggles, the perplexed Pope threw himself into the arms of his greatest vassal. He sought aid from the King of Sicily, with whom he had formerly been on terms of friendship. Roger I., already at variance with Celestine II. concerning the right of investiture conferred on him by Innocent II., wished to make terms with Lucius. They met at Ceprano and quarrelled; the King commanded his son to march into Latium, and the Pope was obliged to conclude a treaty in which Roger on his side promised to support him against the Romans.² With the help

Lucius II.,
Pope,
1144-1145.

¹ With Celestine II. begin the well-known prophecies of Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland (he died 1148), the Sibylline Books of the Papacy; probably a bungled work of the year 1590. See Novaes on this Pope.

² These obscure events are related by Romuald, p. 192. *Anon. Cassin.* for the year 1144. *Trenqam cum eo (sc. rege) composuimus,*

Lucius II.
forms an
alliance
with the
nobility
against the
commune.

of Roger and the nobles, Lucius hoped to dissolve the commune. Nearly all the Consuls took his part, since with the overthrow of the ecclesiastical State their fiefs would have reverted to the commune. The noble families henceforward formed a Guelf party, opposed to the populace. Even the Frangipani, the ancient heads of the German faction, allied themselves with the Pope. He allowed them to take possession of the Circus Maximus, which they included within the boundaries of their Palatine fortress; and henceforward besides the Circus they also owned the Colosseum, the Septizonium, the Arches of Titus and Constantine (already transformed into towers), the Janus Quadrifrons, and other towers in the city.¹

The
Romans
raise
Jordan
Pierleone
to the
Patriciate.

The perplexed commune meanwhile strove to acquire fresh strength. They made a Patricius head of the republic. This was Jordan Pierleone, a brother of the anti-pope Anaclete, and the sole member of his family who, from ambition or other motives, had seceded to the popular side. It is thus

says the Pope in his letter to Peter of Cluny, *dat. Laterani X. Kal. Oct.* (September 22, 1144). Mansi, xxi. 608.

¹ Document of January 31, 1145: *Lucius dil. Filiis, nob. viris Oddoni et Cencio Frangipanihus fratrib.—fidelitatem vestram erga B. Petrum et nos ipsos attendentes, custodiam Circi vobis committimus—dat. Roma II. Kal. Febr.* (from Cencius in Nerini, App., p. 407). The authenticity of this document has been disputed, but its spuriousness has not been proved. On March 18, 1145, the Abbot of S. Andreas let on lease to Cencius Frangipane *turrim quæ vocatur de Arco—Rome in Caput Circi Maximi*—and *Trullum unum in integrum quod vocatur Septem Solia*. The document is signed by *Cencius de Arco*. It was a triumphal arch by the Circus transformed into a tower (Mittarelli, iii. n. 271), and was consequently in the possession of the Frangipani.

evident that the Roman commune did not emulate other cities; they put forward no Consul, for this title was essentially aristocratic in Rome, and was still borne by the hostile nobility. There being no emperor at this time, the Patricius may have been accounted his representative, and the popular party, from motives of policy, recognised the supremacy of a Roman king. The first civic constitution was formed under Jordan Pierleone in 1144, and from him the senatorial era was reckoned.¹ The commune now resolved to deprive the Pope of the temporal power; it required him to surrender his sovereign rights into the hands of the Patricius, and to live on the tithes or on a pension from the State.² The city renewed the attempt, made in the time of Alberic, to dethrone the Pope, an attempt which it has frequently repeated down to present times.

Formation
of the civic
govern-
ment, 1144.

¹ *Non multo autem post* (after the return of the Pope from Campania). *Popul. Rom. contra voluntatem ejusd. Papæ Jordanum filium Petri Leonis in Patricium promovit, et Senatores de novo in Urbe creavit*: Romuald. The new era was reckoned from 1144. This is shown by documents of the Senate: the first which has been preserved is dated December 23, 1148, *renovationis autem sacri Senatus añ. V.*; January 23, 1160, is reckoned *añ. XVI.*; March 27, 1162, *añ. XVIII.*; March 30, 1188, *añ. XLIV.*; May 28, 1191, *añ. XLVII.* of the Senate. May 1145 would therefore fall in the first year, and it consequently follows that the elevation of the patriciate took place in the autumn of 1144.

² Otto of Freising, *Chron.*, vii. c. 31: *omnia regalia ejus—ad jus Patricii repossunt; eumque more antiquorum sacerdotum de decimis tantum et oblationibus sustentari oportere dicentes.* And previously *Senatoribus—Patricium adjiciunt—Jordanem Petri Leonis filium eligentes omnes ei. tamquam principi subficiuntur.* Anon. Cassin.: *Jordanus fil. Petri Leonis cum Senatoribus et parte totius populi minoris contra papam rebellat*—"parte" is to be taken quite in its Italian signification.

May not Rome with justice be called the Eternal City, when its fortunes have remained so immutably the same?

In his distress Lucius turned to Conrad III., the King of the Romans, in whom the great Hohenstaufen race had ascended the German throne on March 7, 1138.¹ The Romans also besought Conrad to recognise their republic. Still perhaps filled with resentment against the Italian cities, which had so shamefully abandoned him,—the former rival to Lothar,—he returned them no answer. He readily received the envoys of the Pope, who came to implore his ratification and recognition of the State of the Church, but he abandoned Italy and Rome to their fate. The diminution of the papal power through the Romans, who recognised his authority, must necessarily be welcome to him.

Rome was filled with tumult. The Pope wrote on January 20, 1145, to the Abbot Peter of Cluny, that he could not go to S. Saba on the Aventine to ordain the abbot.² The biographer of the Pope indeed asserts that he succeeded in inducing the Senators to descend from the Capitol and to abjure the Senate. But this is a mistake,³ for Lucius made a last despairing effort to wrest his power from the

¹ Conrad was desired and selected as Lothar's successor by the Roman Church. He was crowned at Aachen on March 13. W. Bernhardt, *l. c.*, I. 15 f.

² Letter of January 20, 1145. Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.*, n. 6125.

³ This proceeding is very obscure. The *Vita Lucii* transfers it to the last days of the Pope, and says that on account of his sudden illness and death *abiuratio ipsa viribus caruit*. This is contradicted by other accounts.

Romans. A pope besieged and attacked the Capitol, as Brennus or Vitellius had done, but Pierleone and his Senators, to whose heated imaginations the shades of antiquity may have appeared from the Tarpeian ruins, defended it bravely like their forefathers. A blow from a stone, it is supposed, struck the Vicar of Christ to the earth, and history associated a pope who fell bleeding on the Clivus Capitolinus with Manlius and Gracchus.

Lucius II. attacks the Capitol and is killed, Feb. 1145.

Lucius II. died a few days after in the convent of S. Gregory on the Coelian, whither he had been removed under the protection of the Frangipani, on February 15, 1145.¹

¹ Godfrey of Viterbo, who wrote about 1180 (Murat., vii. 461): *intendens Senatum extinguere cum ingenti militia Capitolium Romæ conscendit—Senatus autem Populusq. Rom.—Papam—in momento repellunt. Ubi Papa (sicut audivimus) lapidibus magnis percussus, usque ad obitus sui diem, qui proxime secutus est, non sedit in sede. Sicard (Murat., vii. 598): armata manu ascendit Capitolium; sed Romani inde ejecerunt eum. Sigbert, *Cont. Præmonstr.*: sede inde (from the Capitol) *per Jordanem—perturbatus, infirmitate correptus, infra annum—moritur.* The day of his death is fixed by Cardinal Aragon., p. 437, who only says: *repentina morte præventus.* Otto of Freising (vii. c. 31) says: *quotidianis cruciatibus ac tadio vitæ affectus, infra anni spatium pontificatus sui diem obiit.* The Romans appear to have made a pasquinade on Lucius, which runs:—*

*Lucius est piscis vocitatus, raptor aquarum,
A quo discordat Lucius iste parum.*

Gloss on *Ægid. Aureavall.*, iii. 28 (*Mon. Germ.*, xxv. 100).

4. **EUGENIUS III.—HIS FIRST FLIGHT FROM ROME—ABOLITION OF THE PREFECTURE—ARNOLD OF BRESCIA IN ROME—INSTITUTION OF THE ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD—INFLUENCE OF EVENTS IN ROME ON THE PROVINCIAL CITIES—EUGENIUS III. RECOGNISES THE REPUBLIC—CHARACTER OF THE ROMAN MUNICIPAL CONSTITUTION—SECOND FLIGHT OF EUGENIUS—WAR BETWEEN THE POPULACE AND THE NOBILITY—REBELLION OF THE INFERIOR CLERGY AGAINST THE HIGHER ECCLESIASTICS—S. BERNARD WRITES TO THE ROMANS—RELATIONS OF CONRAD III. TO ROME—EUGENIUS III. IN TUSCULUM.**

Eugenius
III., Pope,
1145-1153.

The cardinals forthwith assembled in the church of S. Cesario on the Via Appia, and unanimously fixed their choice on Bernard, the Abbot of S. Anastasius *ad Aquas Salvias*. And hence through his pupil the ideas of the saint of Clairvaux obtained possession of the papal chair. Bernard of Pisa had no genius; his own master even felt dismayed that, at a time so critical, a simple monk should have been placed on the throne of Christendom. The electors, however, must have discovered in him sufficient intelligence and energy of purpose. His friends asserted that the succouring grace of God endowed the artless monk with intellect, grace, and eloquence. The sainted teacher eventually dedicated to his timid pupil, whose apostolic feet he now kissed in self-abnegation, his golden book *De Consideratione*, which still remains the most useful manual for such popes as desire to administer their office with humility and prudence.¹

¹ *Hunc cum antea simplex fuerit, Deus mirabili gratia, et eloquentia*

The new Pope was able to take possession of the Lateran unhindered, but the Senators barred his way to S. Peter's, where his consecration ought to have taken place. They demanded his renunciation of the civil power, and the recognition of the republic. Rome stood in arms. The Pope fled on February 17, the third day after his election, to the Sabine fortress of Monticelli, and was followed by the dismayed cardinals. They proceeded to Farfa, where Eugenius III. was consecrated, on February 18, 1145.

He took up his abode at Viterbo at Easter and there remained eight months. During the struggles between Henry IV. and the Papacy, Viterbo had attained municipal power, and at the end of the eleventh century had acquired a municipal constitution with consuls at its head.¹ It nevertheless remained subject to the popes, who henceforth frequently found refuge within its walls. Rome meanwhile remained the scene of wildest uproar. The palaces and towers of such nobles as belonged to the papal party, and of the cardinals, were sacked and destroyed; the populace abandoned themselves to violent excesses. Even pilgrims were seized,

He flies to
Viterbo.

perfudit (Bern. Guid., Muratori, iii. 1, 347). Bernard's embarrassment at the election of his pupil is shown by Ep. 237 to the electors, Ep. 238 to the elected. *Dabit tibi dom. intellectum*, he says to him, and to the cardinals: *quid fecistis? sepultura hominem revocastis ad homines*. He calls him *rusticanum*—*pannosum homuncionem*. The five books *De Consid.*, which Pius V. had read aloud to him every day, were written by Bernard in the intervals of leisure of many years.

¹ Cesare Pinzi, *Stor. della città di Viterbo*, Rome, 1887, vol. i. 109 f.

and S. Peter's was again fortified with engines of war.¹ The popular government now abolished the city prefecture. The office represented the imperial power in Rome, and its abolition must therefore be taken as signifying that the Romans, embittered by Conrad's disdain, threatened to sever themselves from the imperium. The Patricius should alone represent the majesty of the Roman Senate and people, and all nobles who refused to recognise the Patricius were banished.²

Eugenius
III. makes
war on
Rome from
Viterbo.

Meanwhile Eugenius III. assembled the vassals of the Church in Viterbo; the greater number of the Counts of the Campagna were hostile to the city, with which they were not allied by any tie. In some cities counts had been established since antiquity; other cities were governed by papal delegates bearing the Roman titles of Præsides and Rectors. Rome determined to subjugate both counts and provincial cities, as Milan and other republics had subjugated their neighbours. The papal cities resolved to be again entirely free, although few were strong enough to emulate the example of Rome. Among these, however, was Corneto, the ancient Tarquinium, a busy mart, which in 1144 already owned a muni-

¹ Otto of Freising, *Chr.*, vii. c. 31; *Ecc. b. Petri*—*profanissime in castellare non metunt.* Geroh of Reichersberg (*Lib. de corrupto eccles. statu* in Baluz, *Miscell.*, v. 114) lamented: *quod adhuc in domo b. Petri—desolationis abominationem stare videmus, positis etiam propugnaculis et aliis bellor. instrumentis in altitudine sanctuarii supra corpus b. Petri.* The cardinals had already beautiful palaces in Rome—*ut Cardinalium diruerentur—splendida palatia* (Otto of Freising, *De Gestis Frid.*, ii. c. 21).

² *Prefectura dignitatem abolentes, omnes principes ac nob. ex civib. ad subjection. Patricii compellunt.* Otto of Freising, vii. c. 31.

cipality with consuls.¹ The provincial nobility also sought to attain independence, while the Roman Senate strove to compel them to receive their feudal investiture on the Capitol instead of in the Lateran, and either to live in the city under the laws of the republic, or to recognise these laws. Eugenius was soon able to unite several vassals of the Church, who had done homage to him at Narni, with the Tivolese, Rome's bitterest enemies, and to send them against the city, where the papal party was at war with the Senate.² It is possible that the excommunication with which he threatened the Patricius Jordan may have had some effect, and the wearied populace finally demanded the return of the Pope, whom they determined to recognise.³ The Pope prudently agreed to a treaty, perhaps saying to himself that it

The Romans conclude a treaty with the Pope, who recognises their constitution, 1145.

¹ Document of Corneto, November 20, 1144 (Cencius, fol. cxlii.). *Nos quid. Gottofredus de Pinzō et Vero Franconis consules una cum Egidio vicecomite et Ranutio de Guiltone ex mandato—alior. Consul. et Pop. Cornetana civitatis.* The Pope already recognised the municipal constitution in country towns. There were consuls in Orvieto in 1157; according to Murat., *Antiq. It.*, ii. 331, in Nepi as early as 1131; in 1198, and naturally even earlier, there were twelve consuls in Narni, where the entire county belonged to the commune. *Narnienses Consules universales Civitatis et Comitatus Narnie* (Murat., *Antiq.*, iv. p. 60). With regard to Corneto and its history, compare Dasti, *Notizie storiche archeol. di Tarquinia e Corneto*, Roma, 1878; and Th. Wüstenfeld, *Regesten der wichtigeren Urk. zur Gesch. von Corneto vom 10. bis 14. Jahrhundert* in the *Iter Italicum* of Jul. v. Pfugk-Hartung, 2 Abth., Stuttg., 1884.

² An ancient account of this time (Martinelli, *Roma ex Ethn.*, p. 171) says: *post hæc vero, ipso D. Papa mandante, contra Senatum et Pop. Rom. quibus modis poterant comites pugnare caperunt.* Of the Senate, Card. Arag., p. 439: *civitatis et castra B. Petri assiduè rapinis et gravibus guerris persequi non cessabant.*

³ Otto of Freising, vii. c. 31; Card. Aragon, p. 439.

was better to place the Roman republic under the authority of holy Church, than that the Emperor should place it under the authority of the empire. The Romans consequently removed the Patricius, again appointed a Prefect, and recognised the supremacy of the Pope, who acknowledged the existence of the commune under his investiture. After the conclusion of the treaty with the Roman people, shortly before Christmas 1145, Eugenius III. was able to leave Sutri, and make his entry into the Lateran. His return resembled a triumph.¹

The city commune had thus wrung its recognition from the Pope, and the Pope on his part had preserved the principle of his government, since from him the Senate received investiture.² In this curious phantom of ancient times the name alone was Roman, the character was new. In the list of twenty-five Senators given us in the oldest document preserved of the *Acta Senatus* of the Middle Ages, scarcely any names are mentioned but those of people of the burgher class, names hitherto unknown to history, and among them is even one of a painter by profession.³ The majority of its members being

¹ *Patriciatus dignitatem exstercarent, et præfectum in pristinam dignitatem reciperent. Senatores vero ex ejus auctoritate tenerent.* Otto of Freising, vii. c. 34. Theobald was Prefect in 1139, Jacobus *præfectus urbis* probably as early as 1145 (Bonincontr, ap. Lamium, vi. 144). The triumphal procession of the Pope is described by Card. Aragon, p. 439.

² Hence the document of December 23, 1148, says: *Nos Senatores — a d. n. P. Eugenio totaque veneranda apostolica curia et reverendo pop. Romano pro regim. urbis annuat. in Capitolio constituti*; similarly the treaty between Pisa and Rome in the *Chronicle of Marangone*, A. 1151.

³ It is signed: *Et nos Senatores: Joh Berardi. Petr. plangens*

of the burgher class gave the Senate a plebeian stamp, although many nobles had already joined the commune. A fresh election took place every year in September or November, probably in the presence of papal plenipotentiaries. The original number of members is unknown and was afterwards variable, but since soon after 1144 the number of fifty-six Senators was accepted as the standard, it appears that, as in ancient times, so again now, Rome was divided into fourteen regions, from each of which four Senators were elected, and that the Senate was thus drawn from the fourteen companies of the city.¹ The full Senate formed the great Council or Consistorium and a committee of Consiliatores or Procuratores of the republic was placed at its head. Consiliatores are also found in Genoa and Pisa, in the capacity of assistant councillors to the consuls. In Rome, however, while the Senate possessed the legislative power, they

Character
of the
Roman
civic con-
stitution.

spatulam. Uguicio gentis. Petr. Enrici. Romanus petri milluli. Astaldus David. Jordanus brutii. Gregorius gaudentis. Nicol. philippi. Petr. romani sperantis in DEO. Sebastianus gualtrade. Stephan falconis. Grisoctus Cencii. Grecus. Nicol. berizonis. Dompnicus. Parentius. Petr. baffolini. Falco caronie. Rusticus nicolai rustici. Petr. rabie. Stephan. cisaronis. Bonum tibi veniat h. e. bentivenga pictor. Joh. bonifilioli. Petrus demetrii pro nobis et pro omnib. aliis consenatorib. nostris quor. nomina non sunt hic descripta (Galletti, *Del. Prim.*, p. 306, Lawsuit on account of some property of S. Maria in Via Lata). The Berardi, Astaldi, Berizo, Rustici, Bonifilioli were *nobiles*; Grisoctus Cencii may have belonged to the Barunzi; at any rate, *Grisottus de Stefano Centii de Baruntio* appears in 1131 (Mittarelli, iii. n. 224).

¹ True, the treaty of peace between Pisa and Rome in 1151 says *nos quid. Senatores numero L.*; the figures *VI.* may, however, have been accidentally omitted.

VOL. IV.

2 K

Coins of
the Roman
Senate.

held the executive power as the supreme governing Council. They were elected from amongst the Senators, and they frequently changed office during the year.¹ Consiliatores and Consistorium thus form the Major and Minor Council, and all full citizens and electors of the Senate compose the popular parliament, which assembled on the Capitol to assent to the decrees and to listen to the vindications of the magistrates retiring from office. It is difficult to say what were the revenues of the Senate, and what royalties it appropriated. It must already have deprived the pope of the right of coinage ; hence, after an interval of several centuries, silver pieces again passed through the hands of the Romans, on which the ancient legend, "*Senatus populus que Romanus*," was engraved, but which now bore in addition the portrait of an apostle with the inscription, "Prince of the Romans."²

¹ The authors who deal with the Senate—Vendettini, Vitale, Olivieri, and Curtius—overlook this change. A document in April 1191 is signed by different Consiliatores to those who sign in May. We find now nine, now eleven, twelve, even fourteen of them. They invariably sign their names before the Senators. The treaty with the Pope of 1188 is signed *jussu Senatorum Consiliatorum* (twelve names follow) *et Senatorum* (the names follow). I believe them to be *Procuratores* of the republic, corresponding to the governing consuls of other cities, and not merely councillors, as Papencordt and Hegel suppose. Twenty-four Consiliatores were elected in Pisa in 1164, *qui nec consules nec senatores hoc anno fuerint* (Bonaini, *Statuti di Pisa*, i. 25) ; in Rome, however, they were the directing committee of the Senate.

² The Papal denarii cease with Benedict VII. (who died 984). In the eleventh century only one denarius is attributed to Leo IX. and another to Paschalis II. The void until Benedict XI. (who died in 1304) is filled (according to Floravante, *Antiqui Romanor. Pontif.*

Civil justice also devolved on the Senate; the Justice. court of justice of the Capitol (*Curia Senatus*), composed of Senators and men learned in law, frequently received Palatine judges and *Dativi* as Proctors within its limits, so that in several *Placita* senatorial and papal tribunals are found side by side. The Senate also endeavoured to bring even civil cases of a spiritual nature, where both accusers and accused were priests, before her tribunal—the *Forum Senatorium*.¹ The popes, however, resisted the attempt. For the papal Curia still survived alongside of the senatorial, and in ecclesiastical disputes the papal *Placita* are always independent of the senatorial decrees. From these decrees the litigants frequently appealed to the pope, as, on the other hand, persons judged by the papal tribunal frequently appealed to the Senate.² Such are the

Denarii) by the coins of the Senate. Nevertheless, in documents subsequent to the installation of the Senate, I find *solidi pape* distinguished from *denarii Senatus* (Mittarelli, iv. n. 53, n. 98); I believe that the popes at first still struck money. The coins of the Senate were called *solidi honor. provisor. Senatus* from *Provis* in Champagne); or the custom of reckoning according to *libra honor.* or *parvor. parvensium Senatus* still continued. Floravante holds that the oldest *denarii* of the Senate are those bearing on one side the legend ROMAN. PRICIPE round the effigy of S. Peter, and SENAT. POPUL. Q. R. round S. Paul on the other. Other coins of this period are called *affortiali* (strong or pure gold) *Scyphali*, *Marabotini* (*Maravedi*), *Malechini* (an Arabic name derived from Melech) *Romanati* (Byzantine), &c. See Ducange.

¹ Ep. 239, Innocent. III., lib. ii., an important letter for the legal relations of the time.

² The existence of the two Curiae side by side is shown by several documents, and in the earliest document of the Senate of the year 1148 the ancient Palatine judges are mentioned as assistant councillors. See

principal features of the constitution which the Romans now created for themselves. It does honour to their civic energy ; since, although recognising in principle the supremacy of the pope, they retained their political autonomy, and Rome henceforward became properly a self-governing republic, which made war and peace independently of the pope.

Meanwhile the treaty with Eugenius III. did not calm the profound disturbance in the city and territory. Nobles and clergy looked with anger on the Senate, which strove to extend its authority over the entire Campagna. Tivoli gave rise to fresh tumults. The Romans demanded its destruction, and the harassed Pope permitted its walls to be pulled down, a measure, however, which failed to satisfy the Romans. Eugenius III. fled from his tormentors at the end of January 1146 to Trastevere, or S. Angelo, which the Pierleoni still retained. Weary of life like Gelasius, he bemoaned his troubles and sighed, in the words of S. Bernard, that, instead of the sheep of Peter, the Shepherd tended wolves, dragons, and scorpions in Rome. He went to Sutri in March, to Viterbo in May, and stayed there until the end of the year ; thence he proceeded to Pisa, and in March 1147 through Lombardy to

Flight of
Eugenius
III. to
France,
1147.

also the Act of the Senate of 1160 (Galletti, *Del. Prim.*, p. 314) : *Actum XVI. a restaurationis senatus Ind. VIII. m. Jan. die XXIII. Capitolii in curia senatus.* In a dispute between the churches of S. Croce in Gerusalemme and S. Prassede concerning the *Fundus Pompeii*, the senatorial delegate Nicholas Johis Granelli takes into consultation the Papal Primicerius, *prim. Defensor*, the Sacellarius and some dativi.

France, where King Lewis was preparing for the second Crusade.¹

Eugenius had fled but had not been driven away by force of arms, for even after his two years' absence the Romans continued to recognise the foundations of the treaty and to regard the Senate as having been invested in its office by the pontiff.² Meanwhile they now felt themselves entirely free; Tivoli was immediately attacked and punished by the execution of several of its citizens.³ Rome seemed to have reverted to ancient times, as in her Senate, so in the wars, which she waged now as then against Latin and Tuscan towns, which again formed an alliance against her. In order to indemnify themselves, the great nobility also attacked many patrimonies of the Church. Each seized what he could.⁴ The State of the Church was split into

¹ The passage of the *Anon. Cassin.* : *pacem cum Romanis reformans, muros Tiburtina civitatis destrui praecepit*, is fittingly explained by Curtius. Otto of Freising, vii. c. 34 : *a pop. Rom. pro excidio Tiburtinor. in tantum sollicitatur, ut improbitatem eor. non sustinens ad transyberinam regionem migrans*, &c. Bonincontri (Lamius, *Delic.*, v. 144) even says that he had been driven out of the city.

² This is shown by the document of December 28, 1148 (already quoted), when Eugenius was not in the city.

³ *Chron. Fossæ N.*, ad A. 1146 : *Romani vener. super Tiburim, et multos ex eis decollaverunt*. The notice in the *Chron. Sublac.* (Murat., *Antiq.*, iv. 797) : *cum Romani temp. Thebaldi Praef. supra Tiburtinos venerint*, belongs to an earlier year.

⁴ Bonincon., p. 148 : Guido Colonna took Norba and Frosinone ; Jacobus, the Prefect who had received investiture from the Pope, Civita Vecchia and Viterbo ; Nicholas of Anguillara, Tolfa and S. Severa ; Peter Frangipane, Terracina and Sezza. Celestine II. had only given the Frangipani the revenues of Terracina, but they constituted themselves tyrants of the place. See the notices in Contatore (*Hist. di Terracina*, l. c. 6) taken from the city archives. The

petty baronial despotisms, which were hostile alike to the Papacy and to the Senate, and which weakened or hindered the autonomy of Rome. The rule of these noble tyrants was especially strong in Latium, a poor district where there were no wealthy communes to form a counterpoise such as existed in Tuscany or Umbria. The energy of the Roman people was thus dissipated in struggles with towns and captains, while Rome itself, where Jordan Pierleone now appeared as standard-bearer of the civic power, was torn by internal civic wars, and stood in violent revolution.

Arnold of
Brescia
appears
in Rome

It was at this time that Arnold of Brescia, who had remained hidden in exile, reappeared as a demagogue in Rome. The celebrated schismatic had returned to Italy on the death of Innocent II., and, having promised silence and submission, was released by Eugenius III. in Viterbo from the ban which had previously been laid upon him. His penance was to be performed at the holy places in Rome. Thither, therefore, Arnold went, perhaps at the same time that Eugenius returned to the city from Viterbo, and at first lived in concealment. After the Pope's flight to France, however, he came forward publicly, and, heedless of the oath which he had taken to the Curia, loudly preached his old doctrines to the Romans.¹

The revolution in Rome took great hold upon

Frangipani suppressed the commune of Terracina; consequently, we do not find consuls there until the thirteenth century, when Innocent III. subjugated the barons.

¹ *Hist. pontificalis.*

him. Friends, whom he had either found in the city or recently made, encouraged him to dedicate his talents to the cause of the people. He acquiesced, filled with the enthusiastic hope of thus accomplishing his ecclesiastical and social ideal in the overthrow of the *Dominium Temporale*. Nothing could have been more gratifying to Arnold than the establishment of the Roman commune. Should the attempt to deprive the Pope of the civil power succeed, it would entail the fall of all the remaining ecclesiastical States, and Christian society would again approach the democratic conditions of the early unpolitical Church. Arnold's chief work must consequently be to aid in the formation in Rome of a republic founded on civic liberty.

The religious sect which he had founded in Brescia was revived in Rome. His doctrine of apostolic poverty and purity of morals won him many friends : women more especially became his enthusiastic followers. His adherents were known as Lombards or Arnoldists.¹ The Roman Senate eagerly imbibed the doctrines of the fiery popular orator on their political side. A man clad in the monastic habit, emaciated by fasting, stood like a spectre on the ruins of the Capitol and addressed the *Patres Conscripti* on the same spot where Senators, voluptuous rulers over thousands of slaves, had addressed their ancestors. Arnold's glowing declamations, to

¹ *Hominum sectam fecit, que adhuc dicitur heresis Lombardorum. Habuit enim continentie sectatores, qui propter honestatis speciem et austeritatem vite placebant populo, sed maxime apud religiosas feminas inveniabant subsidium. Hist. pontificalis, p. 538.*

which the Fathers of the Church and Virgil, the law of Justinian and the Gospel, alike contributed, were delivered in the corrupt Latin, the "*lingua rustica*," or peasant's tongue, to which Varro or Cicero would have listened in horror, but which, as the tongue of Dante, was destined a century later to create a new literature.

Arnold spoke frequently in public parliaments. He described the pride, the avarice, the hypocrisy and the vices of the cardinals, he called their college a table of money-changers and a den of robbers. He loudly announced that the Pope was not a successor of the apostles as a shepherd of souls, but an incendiary and a murderer, a tyrant over churches and a corrupter of innocence, who fed his body and his treasure-chests on the property of others. Neither obedience nor reverence was due to him. Nor was any toleration to be shown to such as desired to reduce Rome, the Seat of the Empire, the Source of Freedom, the Mistress of the World, to subjection.¹

We may imagine how these speeches, uttered by a reformer of strictly moral life, inflamed the minds of the Romans, already filled with hatred against the priestly rule. Arnold was the man of the hour; the republic on the Capitol took him formally into its service:² it also made use of him as Councillor in

¹ This is related by the *Histor. Pontificalis*. *Posterea non esse homines admittendos, qui sedem Imperii fontem libertatis Romani, mundi dominam volebant subicere servituti.* Otto of Freising thus sums up Arnold's principles: *nihil in dispositione Urbis ad Roman. pontificem spectare, sufficere sibi ecclesiasticum iudicium.*

² *Qui honori urbis et reipubl. Romanor. se dicebatur obligasse prestito juramento. Et ei popul. Roman. vicissim auxilium et consilium contra*

matters relating to the civic constitution: for it has come to pass that in every age in Italy ecclesiastical reformers have stepped into the domain of politics and become demagogues. The practical insight of the Lombard may have been darkened by the ruins of Rome, and become too deeply steeped in ancient traditions. The revival of the study of the law of Justinian combined with the monuments and traditions of antiquity to hold the Romans within an enchanted domain. While other democracies developed in accordance with natural laws, the Romans strove to restore the ancient forms of their republic, and lost themselves in enthusiastic dreams of the world-wide supremacy which was their due. Arnold himself counselled the people to rebuild the Capitol and to revive the ancient order of Senators, even that of the knights. We must not, however, regard the institution of knighthood simply as a fantastic whim; other cities also created knights, and Arnold probably wished to combine the petty nobility (who were friendly to the populace), and to install them as an armed force in opposition to the aristocracy of consuls and captains.¹

As the lower ranks of the nobility entered the commune, so the inferior clergy laid hold of the idea of the equality of the priesthood. War was made on

The lower ranks of the clergy join the movement.

omnes homin. et nominatim contra d. Papam promissit. Hist. Pontif. Arnold's attitude towards the Senate in Rome reminds us of that later held by Paolo Sarpi towards the Signory of Venice.

¹ *Circa principia pontificatus Eugenii pestifer Amaldus Romam ingressus—proponens antiquior. Romanor. exempla—reædificandum Capitolium, renovandam dignitatem Senatoriam, reformandum equestrem ordinem docuit. Otto of Freising, ii. c. 21.*

all sides against the Gregorian hierarchy, which was contrasted with the long-overthrown likeness of primitive Christianity. The clergy of the smaller churches revolted against the caste of cardinals, who already, like the great nobility (to whose ranks they for the most part belonged), owned castellated palaces in the city and were accustomed to live like princes.

Eugenius meanwhile had returned to Italy from France in June 1148. He excommunicated Arnold at a Synod held at Cremona in July. Apprehensive of a movement among the clergy in Rome, he addressed them a letter from Brescia, menacing them all with punishment did they give ear to the sectary.¹

While Arnold inflamed the populace with enthusiasm for democracy, his old adversary Bernard was active to quench the brand. The practical application of his own Christian principles, concerning the illegality of the political rule of the bishops, the saint himself still owed to the world, and it was with difficulty that he could think of Rome otherwise than in the possession of the Pope, even if the form of government remained a matter of indifference. After Eugenius' second flight he wrote to the Romans; he implored the indulgence of the "exalted and illustrious people," that he, an insigni-

S. Bernard exhorts the Romans to submission to the Pope.

¹ *Fallax et invidus hum. generis inimicus per Arnaldum schismaticum—effecit, ut quidam Capellani unitatem Eccles.—dividentes, ipsius A. sequantur errorem: et Cardinalib. atque Archipresbyteris suis obedientiam—contradicant—dat. Brixie 1d. Julii.* The movement among the inferior clergy continued under Adrian IV. and Alexander III. (Briefs of these popes in Mansi, xxi. 628, 803). The existence of twenty-eight cardinal titles at this time is evident from Alexander's letter.

ficant person, should venture to address them, but he explained, as every bishop of the present day explains, that the violence offered to the Pope concerned the entire Catholic world.

"Your fathers rendered the universe subject to the city, but you would make the city the byword of the world. You have banished the Papacy, now beware what will become of Rome; a headless trunk, a face without eyes. Scattered sheep! Return to your Shepherd. Illustrious city of heroes, reconcile thyself with thy true princes Peter and Paul."¹ The saint spoke with indignation but with diplomatic reverence for the name of Rome, but he secretly hated the Romans. He elsewhere draws a picture of them, and calls this exalted people proud, covetous, vain and mutinous, unmanly and false. "Their speech is arrogant but their actions are mean. They promise everything and perform nothing. They are at the same time honeyed flatterers and bitter slanderers, in short, worthless traitors."²

¹ Ep. 243: *Nobilib. et optimatib. et univ. pop. Romano, frater Bern. Claravallis vocatus Abbas, declinare a malo, et facere quod bonum est.—Patres vestri Urbi Orbem subjugarunt, vos Urbem properatis orbi facere fabulam—Quid ergo nunc Roma, nisi sine capite truncum corpus, sine oculis frons effossa, facies tenebrosa?* Bishops in every part of the world say the same even now, and Bernard's letter is as often quoted by the friends of Pius IX. as the opinion taken by the saint concerning the political position of the clergy is quoted by their opponents.

² *Quid tam notum sæculis, quam protervia et fastus Romanor. ? Gens insueta pacis, tumultui assueta; gens immitis et intractabilis—impii in Deum, temerarii in sancta, seditiosi in invicem, amuli in vicinos, inhumani in extraneos. Docuerunt linguam suam grandia loqui, cum opererentur exigua.* And of the avarice of the Romans: *quem dabis mihi, vel de tota maxima Urbe, qui Te in Papam receperit,*

The
Romans
demand
the pro-
tection of
Conrad
III.

Eugenius was not to owe to the saint, whose pupil he had been, what Innocent II. had once owed him. Neither in Conrad did he find a Lothar. Both parties summoned the King to Rome; both made use of the same phrase, that Cæsar should take what belonged to Cæsar; but their sense and intention differed in each case.¹ Conrad III., owing to his disastrous Crusade, to which he had been driven by the exhortations and false prophecies of the holy abbot, was kept far from Italy, but returning by Aquileja in the beginning of 1149 he determined on the journey to Rome. Roger's alliance with Guelf, the rebellious Duke of Bavaria, urgently demanded the journey, while Roger, mindful of Lothar's victory, employed every means to keep him at a distance.² Conrad had formed an alliance with the Greek Emperor Emmanuel, and the Pisans were again to lend him their fleet. On the other hand, the Pope required the help of the Sicilians against the Romans, and feared that Conrad would agree to the treaty which they repeatedly offered him.

At the end of the year 1148 Eugenius went to Viterbo, a town with which the Romans were

precio, seu spe precii non interveniente? *De Consid.*, iv. c. ii. Bernard wrote the fourth and fifth books of this celebrated treatise 1152-1153. Petrarch later defended Rome against this invective: *Contra galli calumnias*, Op., ed. Basel, p. 1075.

¹ Ep. 244, *ad Conradum*. And the letter of the friend (Martene, i. ii. 299, Ep. 212).

² Concerning this we are informed by the notary John: Ep. 239, among Wibald's letters (Martene, *Ampl. Collect.*, ii.). Martene wrongly places the letter in the year 1151; it falls before the battle of Flochberg, where Guelf was vanquished on February 8, 1150.

already at war. In the beginning of 1149 he ventured into the neighbourhood of Rome. Count Ptolemy received him in Tusculum, where he was also greeted by Lewis of France on his return from the Crusade. The king saw with astonishment the helpless position of the Pope in the gloomy fortress; he nevertheless went on to Rome, to visit the various holy places as a pilgrim, and the republicans of the city received him with all due honour.¹ Eugenius, who had brought the necessary money with him from France, collected the vassals of the Church and reinforcements of mercenaries in Tusculum, placed Cardinal Guido of Puella at the head of these troops, and in his distress formed an alliance with King Roger, who lent him soldiers. Rome was now reduced to the uttermost extremity, but the republicans valiantly repulsed the attacks of the enemy.²

Eugenius
III. in
Tusculum,
1149.

¹ *Hist. Pontificalis*, c. 29.

² The Bulls given by Jaffé fix his sojourn in Tusculum between April 8 and November 7, 1149. *Anon. Cass. Chron.*, A. 1148: *Eugenius P. Tusculanum ingressus, fultus auxilio Rogerii Regis, Romanos sibi rebelles expugnat*. Similarly Romuald, p. 193. Robert de Monte: *P. Eugenius in Italiam regressus, cum Romanis vario eventu configit*. The *Hist. Pontificalis* says (c. 27) expressly: *infeliciter pugnabatur. Ecclesia namque fecit sumptus maximos et profectum minimum*.

5. LETTER OF THE SENATE TO CONRAD III.—POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE ROMANS—RETURN OF EUGENIUS III.—HIS NEW EXILE—PROPOSALS OF THE ROMANS TO CONRAD—HE PREPARES TO GO TO ROME—HIS DEATH—FREDERICK I. ASCENDS THE GERMAN THRONE—LETTER OF THE ROMANS TO FREDERICK—ROME, ROMAN LAW, AND THE EMPIRE—STIPULATIONS OF CONSTANCE—IRRITATION OF THE DEMOCRATS IN ROME—EUGENIUS' RETURN TO THE CITY—HIS DEATH.

The Senate at this time wrote repeatedly to King Conrad, inviting him to come and rule over empire and city. The citizens, Sixtus, Nicholas, and Guido, now Councillors of the republic, announced that they had banished the Frangipani and Pierleoni, and urged Conrad to take the Roman commune under his protection.¹ But as they received no answer, and the difficulty increased, the Senate addressed him another letter in 1149. Its memorable contents show that the chasm which separated the Romans of the twelfth century from the temporal power was just as deep, and was explained with as much certainty, as at the present day, when their remote and unarmed descendants still assemble amid the time-worn ruins of the Forum and Capitol, to protest against the civil power of the Pope, and to stick by night placards ending with the cry, "Viva il Pontefice—non Re," at the corners of the streets.²

¹ Ep. 212 (Wibaldi): *Excellent. et Magnif. Dom. Urbis et Orbis Conrado etc. Sixtus, Nicolaus et Guido consiliatores Curie sacri Senatus et communis salutis reip. procuratores—ut jam per plures litteras regia significatum est majestati etc. etc.*

² A proclamation during the Carnival of 1862 says: Romans!

673 years had rolled by since the degraded Senators had explained to Zeno in Byzantium that Rome no longer required a Western emperor; that she was satisfied that Odoacer should rule over Italy as Byzantine Patricius. 614 years had passed since the Senate had addressed its last letter to Justinian, imploring him not to withdraw his favour from Rome and the Gothic King Theodat. Now there appeared before the throne of the German king Romans who, coming from the neglected ruins of the Capitol, again called themselves Senators, who announced that they had restored the ancient Roman Senate, and invited the King of Germany to be the successor of Constantine and Justinian.

"To the illustrious ruler of the city and of the world, Conrad, by the Grace of God, King of the Romans, always Augustus, from the Senate and the people of Rome; health and a prosperous and glorious rule over the Roman empire. We have already informed your royal nobility by frequent letters of that which has happened through our means, have told you that we remained faithful to you, and that your crown may increase in splendour is our daily wish. We are, however, surprised that you have not vouchsafed us any answer. Our unanimous endeavour is that we may again restore the empire

Letters
of the
Romans
to King
Conrad.

He who cares for his own dignity, who is conscious of the greatness of the destiny which Providence has preserved to Italy and her capital, finds sufficient satisfaction in the Forum and all such places as recall her ancient grandeur. There the true citizen of Rome, in the recollection of the glory of his ancestors, beholds the foundation of our speedy renaissance after so many centuries of disgrace. *Viva il Pontefice non Re!* Rome, February 20, 1861.

of the Romans, which God has entrusted to your guidance, to the might that it possessed under Constantine and Justinian, who, empowered by the Roman Senate and people, governed the world. We have, therefore, by the help of God, restored the Senate, and defeated many enemies of your imperial rule, in order that what belonged to Cæsar should be yours. We have laid a solid foundation. We are security for justice and peace to all such as shall desire them. We have conquered the fortresses of the civic nobility, who, supported by Sicily and Pope Eugenius, hoped to defy you, and have either held these towns for you or have destroyed them. We are, therefore, harried on every side by the Pope, the Frangipani, the sons of Pierleone (with the exception of Jordan our standard-bearer), by Ptolemy, and by many others. They desire to prevent our crowning you Emperor. Meanwhile we suffer much hardship out of love to you, since there is nothing too hard for those who love, and you will give us the recompense due from a father, and merited punishment to the enemies of the empire. Shut your ears to the slanderers of the Senate; they will rejoice at our discord, in order to ruin you and us. Remember how much harm the papal court and these our former fellow-citizens have caused your predecessors, and how, with Sicilian aid, they have sought to do still further harm to the city. Nevertheless, with Christ's help we hold out manfully for you, and we have already driven several of the empire's worst enemies out of the city. Hasten to our aid with imperial power; the city is at your command. You can

dwell in Rome, the Capital of the world, and, more absolute than almost any of your predecessors, after every priestly obstacle is removed, can rule over the whole of Italy and the German empire. We entreat you do not delay. Deign to assure your willing servants of your well-being by letters and messengers. We are now actively occupied in restoring the Milvian Bridge, which to the misfortune of the emperors has long been destroyed, and we hope soon to complete it with strong masonry. Your army will therefore be able to cross it, and to surround S. Angelo, where the Pierleoni, according to arrangement with Sicily and the Pope, meditate your ruin.

*Rex valeat, quidquid cupit obtineat super hostes,
Imperium teneat, Romæ sedeat, regat orbem,
Princeps terrarum, cœu fecit Justinianus.
Casaris accipiat Casar quæ sunt, sua Prasul,
Ut Christus jussit, Petro solvente tributum.*

Finally we entreat you to accord our envoys a good reception and to put confidence in them, since we cannot write all that we would. They are noblemen; the Senator Guido, James, son of Sixtus, the Procurator and Nicholas their companion."¹

The magic influence exercised by the traditions of

¹ *Excell. atque præcl. Urbis et Orbis totius Domine, Conrado Dei grat. Romanor. Regi, semp. Augusto, S.P.Q.R. salutem et Rom. Imp. felicem et inclutam gubernationem* (Otto of Freising, *De gestis*, l. c. 28). I assign this letter, not like Martene and Mansi to the year 1150, but to 1149, when Eugenius still harassed Rome from Tusculum. The envoys are called *nobiles viri*, which means actual nobles. The barbarous hexameters well express the programme of the Romans. The letter is too poor to be ascribed to Arnold.

the ancient Roman empire is a curious phenomenon in the history of the Middle Ages. A single great recollection became a political power; the Roman emperors on the throne of Germany; the Roman popes on the chair of Peter, the Roman senators on the ruins of the Capitol, all dreamed of their legitimate right to the sovereignty of the world. We are not informed as to how the Roman envoys were received at the German court or how they were dismissed. Conrad III. now saw two claimants quarrel for the right of bestowing the imperial crown, and he preferred to receive this crown from the hands of a Roman Pope, rather than from those of a Roman Senator.¹ The Pope had undoubtedly entered into an alliance with his enemy Roger, and the Romans therefore already hoped that Conrad would lend them a willing ear. Conrad himself must have recognised that since the days of Henry III. no other king had been offered so favourable an opportunity of restoring the imperial power in Rome, and (by the destruction of the *Dominium Temporale*) of depriving the Papacy of the fruit of Gregory VII.'s victories. He received letters from the Romans telling him that prudence commanded him to become the mediator between the Pope and Rome, and to place the new republic under the protection of the empire. Did he comply with their behests, the papal election would in future depend on him.²

¹ *Christianiss. princeps hujusm. verbis sive mentiis prabere aures abruist*, says Otto of Freising à propos of the letter of the Romans.

² Ep. 213 (in Wibald's letters) from a *fidelis Senatus servorum regis fidelissimus*.

Conrad, detained in Germany, where he was at war with the Guelf party, and devoid of any true insight into the condition of Rome, paid no heed to the wishes of the Senators, although he probably rejoiced in the weakening of the papal power. The influence of many friends of Roman freedom was counteracted at his court by the clergy, more especially by the Abbot Wibald of Stablo and Corvey. This influential man had been won over to the side of Eugenius, and he guided the opinions of the King. It thus came to pass that the sorely harassed Romans were again obliged to receive the Pope into the city at the end of the year 1149.¹ A new peace was formed between the Senate and the Pope, which was of as short duration as the former.² For as early as June 1150, Eugenius returned to Latium, where he took up his abode now in fortified Segni, now in Ferentino.

Eugenius III. returns to Rome, and is again driven into exile, 1149-1150.

¹ *Eugenius P. pacem cum Romanis reformans Romam reversus est.* Anon. Cassin. Chron. Romuald, p. 193. A Bull of Eugenius is dated: *Laterani*, 28 Nov. 1149 (Jaffé).

² *Promissa Romanor.* (*Mon. Germ.*, iv. 88): Restitution of all the rights of the crown; of the funds of the churches, with the exception of the expenses of the war with Viterbo; of all the fortresses outside the city. *Munitiones S. Gregorii et turrem de Selaceis dabunt.* This *Turris* is mentioned in a document of the year 1393, as *extra portam Appiam et portam Laterani*, belonging to the *Casale Statuarium* (Coppi, *Dissertations of the Papal Acad. of Archeology*, t. xv. p. 132). By *Munit. S. Gregorii* the fortress on the Coelian, which a Bull of Honorius III. of 1217 calls *clausura in castro S. Gregorii* (*Bull. Vat.*, i. 100), cannot be intended. Tomassetti ("Camp. Romana," *Arch. d. Soc. R.*, viii., 1885, p. 56) holds the *Turris de Selaceis* to be the *Terre Selce* on the Via Appia and the *munit. S. Greg.* to be the fortress Statuario. But no fortress could have been built at Recano or Magliano on the Flaminian Way. The Romans determined to take the oath of vassalage *cum beneficio quingentar. librar. secund. quod consueverunt Romani iurare fon-*

During three years the papal court wandered through the Campagna, close to Rome and yet in exile.¹ Eugenius now feared that Conrad would recognise the Roman commune, and that the league between the city, Pisa, and the Greek emperor would overthrow the temporal throne of the Papacy. Nevertheless, Wibald comforted him with the assurance that he had nothing to fear.²

The Romans renewed their proposals and offered Conrad the imperial crown, necessity having forced them to recognise the historic right of German kings. Conrad, whose hands had been left free by the defeat of Guelf in 1150, now wished to go to Rome to settle affairs in the city. His journey was resolved on at two imperial diets in 1151, and he at last condescended to reply to the Romans. He was silent concerning the Senate, but his letter, addressed to the City Prefect, the Consuls, the Captains, and the Roman people, politely announced that he would accept their invitation and come to tranquillise the cities of Italy, to reward the faithful, and to punish the rebels.³ His envoys were addressed no less to

tificib. Romanis. Inter predictos jurabunt Nicolaus, Syxtus, et Guido recuperata gratia vestra, precibus Senatorum.

¹ In 1151 Eugenius was living in Segni under the protection of the Counts of Ceccano. He consecrated Casamari near Veroli on October 27 (*Chron. Fossæ N., ad A. 1152*).

² Ep. 214, *Guidonis Cardinali et Cancellarii ad Wibaldum Abatem*. Ep. 218, Wibald soothes Eugenius; written after the defeat of Guelf VI. Ep. 235, Wibald to Cardinal Guido.

³ *Conradus dei gr. Rex et semper Aug. prefecto urbis, consulibus, capitaneis et omni pop. Romano tam minorib., quam majorib. grat. suam et bon. voluntatem* (excepting the Prefect, the formula is that used in other cities; thus Pisa, Ep. 324). *Post reditum nostrum a Jeroso-*

the Romans than to the Pope, who, filled with pious hope, received them at Segni, in January 1152. An understanding was arrived at. Eugenius III. abandoned the cause of Roger and now even invited the princes of Germany to aid the Emperor with all their power in his journey to Rome.¹

Accident, however, spared the history of the Hohenstaufens a sad page, in which the first of the line would have shown himself an inglorious enemy of the Roman republic, in the service of the Pope. The manly prince died in the midst of his preparations on February 15, 1152, the first German king since Otto I. who had not worn the imperial crown—a Death of
Conrad,
Feb. 15,
1152. fact which in no way diminished his power. The thousands of lives which each Roman coronation usually cost the Fatherland, had this time been sacrificed in the deserts of Syria. And Italian patriots should therefore for once extol a German king, that, in spite of the urgent entreaties of Italy (they usually forget these invitations), he did not descend the Alps like some destructive Attifa. They might congratulate their country that during fifteen years it remained untraversed by any progress to Rome and enjoyed enviable conditions, but that they are themselves unfortunately obliged to admit that Italy has never been so disunited, or torn asunder by such furious civil wars, as during these fifteen years of purely domestic history.²

lomitana expeditione litteras universitatis vestre frequenter accepimus (Ep. 322).

¹ Ep. 327, dat. Signia V. Id. Januar. Ep. 339 to the Germans. The King's letter to the Pope, Ep. 323.

² *Non mai gl' Italiani furono tanto discordevoli e feramente avversi*

Frederick
I, King of
Germany,
March 5,
1152.

On Conrad's death his nephew Frederick, the immortal hero Barbarossa, who was destined to be the glory of Germany and the terror of Italy, ascended the German throne on May 5. Eugenius, as well as the Romans, hastened to secure the friendship of the new ruler; the republic, however, looked with jealousy on the royal envoys, whom the Pope alone received. A letter expresses the ill-humour of the Romans and their opinions concerning the judicial relations of the Emperor to the city. "I rejoice," so wrote a follower of Arnold to Frederick, "that you have been elected king by your people, but I regret that you follow the counsel of your priests, through whose teachings things divine and human have become confused, and that you did not consult the sacred city, the Mistress of the World, the Creator of all Emperors." The writer deplores that Frederick, like his predecessors, had determined to receive the imperial crown from the hands of false and heretical monks, whom he calls Julianists. He proves to him, from the precepts of S. Peter and from Jerome, that the clergy had nothing to do with secular rights. He derided the Donation of Constantine as an absurd fable, which old wives laughed to scorn; he showed how the imperium and every magisterial office was an emanation from the majesty of the Roman people, to whom therefore alone belonged the right of creating him emperor. The writer finally required him to send envoys and lawyers to Rome, in order

The
Romans
commend
their
republic
to him.

tra loro quanto in quei quindici anni, ne quali avrebbero potuto rompere la catena tedesca, e rivendicarsi in indipendenza; ma lo spirito nazionale non era ancor nato. La Farina, Storia d'Italia.

to place the empire on a legal foundation in accordance with the law of Justinian, and to prevent a revolution.¹ The human mind had happily made rapid strides in the path of progress.

The Romans of the present day who dispute the temporal authority of the Pope, derive their arguments from the majesty of the Italian nation, of which Rome is the capital, and to whose natural right the merely historical right of the popes must yield. Like their forefathers, they support their reasoning with the argument that the Papacy is only a spiritual office, and corroborate it by the authority of the Bible and the Fathers of the Church. But in the time of Arnold the theory of the unity of the nation was unknown, and the patriots took their stand on the ground of antiquity. The majesty of the Roman people was for them the source of all power, the Roman empire an indestructible conception, and the emperor the magistrate of the republic, elected and installed by the people. When they laughed at the fable of the transference of the imperial power to the popes through Constantine, and the papal right

¹ *Carissimo Dei gr. F. Wetzel ad summam animam et corporis luto undique proficere.* Ep. 384 (in Martene II.). Wetzel was undoubtedly a German, and had probably come to Rome with Arnold. *Ceterum quod consilio clericor. et monachor., quor. doctrina divina et humana confusa sunt*: entirely the language of to-day. Even the words spoken by S. Peter at the ordination of S. Clement, and the sentences of Jerome, quoted in the letter, have been again used for the same purpose to-day. That which Wetzel said concerning the Donation of Constantine (*mendacium illud et fabula hæretica—ita detecta est, ut mercenarii et mulierculæ quoslibet etiam doctissimos super hoc concludant*) shows how the question of the *Dominium Temporale* was discussed at that time in the market-place.

of investiture mystically transmitted from Christ or Peter, they gave expression to the reasonable principle that no kingdom existed simply by the grace of God, but that the authority of the crown emanated from the people alone. The Romans of the twelfth century placed the imperium on the—to them—legitimate foundation of Roman Law. They hit the humour of an ambitious monarch when they told him that, according to this Law, the emperor was the supreme law-giving power in the world; but they required him to regard his power as committed to him by the Roman Senate and People. They mingled the Cæsarian despotism of Justinian with the fundamental laws of democracy.

Frederick I. holds negotiations with the Pope.

Frederick I. had therefore to choose between the Pope and the Roman commune as the sources of his imperium; he acquiesced in all the arguments of the Romans against the supreme right of investiture which the Pope claimed; he laughed at the assumptions of the Senate, which seemed to him absurd; and like all his predecessors he also resolved to let himself be crowned by the Pope "through the grace of God." The first steps of his reign were prudent and conservative. Without taking cognizance of the new Roman republic, he continued Conrad's negotiations, and, owing to the instrumentality of the cardinal-legates Gregory and Bernard in Constance, a treaty highly favourable to his interests was concluded with the Pope in the spring of 1153. Frederick undertook to make peace neither with Rome nor with Sicily without the Pope, but to use his influence in making the city as submissive to the sacred chair as

it had been a hundred years earlier. He promised to maintain the *Dominium Temporale* of the Pope, and to aid him in the recovery of all that he had lost. Eugenius promised in return to crown him Emperor and to lend every species of protection to his throne.¹

The negotiations between Frederick and the Pope had meanwhile given rise to a violent revolt in Rome. The democrats and Arnoldists demanded the abolition of the conditions agreed upon with Eugenius and the appointment of a hundred Senators with two Consuls, to be annually elected. Eugenius informed Frederick of these occurrences and represented them as tumults of the populace, who now themselves wished to elect an emperor. The Romans undoubtedly threatened to repudiate the German empire and to set up a national emperor of their own. Only a letter of Eugenius, however, throws a passing light upon this remarkable occurrence.²

Nevertheless the Pope was able to leave Segni in the autumn of 1152, and at the end of the year to

Eugenius
III. returns
to Rome,

¹ The Pactum (in Wibald, n. 385, in Albinus and Cencius) is dated *Constantine X. Kl. April. Ind. XV. A.D. Incarn. MCLII. Regnante Dno Frederico Romanor. Rege glorioso A. vero regni ejus I.* It is to be assigned to the spring of 1153 (Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 92). *Et pro viribus regni laborabit Romanos subjugare domino Papa et Rom. Eccl., sicut melius unquam fuerunt a centum annis et retro.* With regard to this Pactum, see, in addition to the paragraphs concerning it in Giesebrecht V., Walter Ribbeck, *Friedr. I. und die römische Curie in den J. 1157-1159*, Leipzig, 1881.

² To Wibald, Ep. 383, dat. *Signia XII. Kal. Oct.*: *notificamus quæ faciente Arnaldo hæretico rusticana quedam turba absque nobilium et majorum scientia nuper est in Urbe molita. Circiter enim duo millia—sunt secretius conjurati, et in proximis Kalendis Novembris centum senatores—et duos consules—unum autem, quem volunt Imperatorem dicere, creare disponunt.*

enter the city, where the overthrow of the democrats had inclined all the moderates to come to terms. Senate and people received him with honour after, as is to be supposed, he had recognised the commune.¹ We may also infer that the banished nobility were permitted to return; these nobles, however, as Consuls of the Romans and courtiers of the Pope, continued in opposition to the Senate.² Eugenius III. was able to end his days peaceably in Rome, and with the help of the people even to reduce rebellious barons in the Campagna to subjection.³ Quiet subtilty succeeded in achieving what weapons had not been able to accomplish. "Eugenius laid the entire populace under such great obligations to him,

¹ The expression *cum Romanis paciscens* shows that the Pope recognised the constitution. Sigeb., *Cont. Præmonstr.*; Romuald; *Anon. Cassin. Chr.*, where the year should be altered to 1152.

² Document of May 29, 1153: the Pope signs a treaty concerning Radicofani. His witnesses are his *supracognus*, *dapifer*, *marescalcus equor. albor.*, and before them, *Cencius Frajapanis egreg. Romanor. Consul*; *Johes Petri Leonis egreg. Rom. Con.*, *Odo Frajapanis stren. Rom. Con.*; *Gratianus fil. Ovitonis Petri de Leone Rom. Con.*; *Johes Frajapanis fil. Dom. Centii Rom. Con.*; *Petrus Leonis de Leone Rom. Con.*; *Obitio Leonis Petri de Leone Rom. Con.*; *Stephanus de Tebaldo, &c.* (Murat., *Ant.*, iv. 793). Similar signatures to a document of August 29, 1153 (Galletti, *Del Prim.*, n. 59), show that the banished nobility had returned. Vendettini wrongly holds these courtiers to have been *Consiliatorii* of the Senate.

³ Bonincontr., pp. 148, 150. As early as November 26, 1150, the Pope (probably with Roger's help) had conquered Terracina (*Chron. Fossa N.*). He restored its fortress, the inscription on which is given by Baronius: *quia mira animi virtute et honesti studio præditus regalia multa longo tempore amissa b. Petro restituit*. Cencius gives several treaties of Eugenius, which show how shrewd the Pope was in holding together the property of the Church and in acquiring fortresses.

by his benefits and gifts, that he ruled the city almost as he willed, and had he not been removed by death, he would, with the aid of the people, have deprived the Senators of their newly acquired dignities."¹ We need not accept this statement unhesitatingly, since Eugenius in no wise succeeded in subjugating the Roman republic, and since Arnold, his most hated opponent, remained with his followers unpunished in the city.

Eugenius died at Tivoli on July 8, 1153, and was buried in S. Peter's with solemn ceremonial. ^{and dies July 8. 1153.} The unassuming but astute pupil of S. Bernard had always continued to wear the coarse habit of Clairvaux beneath the purple; the stoic virtues of monasticism accompanied him through his stormy career, and invested him with that power of passive resistance which has always remained the most effectual weapon of the popes.²

¹ Romuald, p. 193. So also in the beautiful letter where Hugo of Ostia announces the death of Eugenius to the Chapter of the Cistercians, the author says with exaggeration: *jam fere Senatum annihilaverat* (S. Bernhadi, Op. i. ep. 440).

² There is no memorial of Eugenius in Rome. Ptolemy of Tusculum died, shortly before him, on February 25 (*Chron. Fossæ. N.*); after him, S. Bernard, on August 20.

CHAPTER V.

1. ANASTASIUS IV.—ADRIAN IV.—HE LAYS THE INTER-DICT ON ROME — BANISHMENT OF ARNOLD OF BRESCIA—FREDERICK I. COMES TO BE CROWNED—IMPRISONMENT OF ARNOLD—DISPUTE CONCERNING THE STIRRUP—THE SENATORS' ADDRESS TO THE KING, AND THE ROYAL ANSWER—JOURNEY TO ROME.

Anastasius
IV., 1153–
1154.

THE Cardinal Conrad, a Roman belonging to the Suburra, mounted the papal throne as Anastasius IV. on July 12, 1153. His election was unanimous, and was not disputed by the Senate, for although the Senators were present at the ceremony of election, they did not yet interfere in spiritual affairs. The popes, however, now found themselves opposed by a new power, which refused recognition to them unless they on their side recognised it. The aged Anastasius does not seem to have made any encroachments on the Roman constitution. He lived peaceably in the city, and died there on December 3, 1154.¹

¹ Anastasius IV. was buried by his own desire in the porphyry sarcophagus of S. Helena, which he had had brought from her mausoleum on the Via Labicana to the Lateran. The dead and their coffins journeyed about in Rome. Thus Innocent II. destined the porphyry coffin of the Emperor Hadrian for his own grave. Pius VI. removed Helena's sarcophagus to the Vatican, where it is now looked upon as a work of art.

The papal chair was now filled by a man of unusual energy, Nicholas Breakspear, an Englishman by birth. Thirst for knowledge had driven the son of a poor priest of S. Alban's to France, where, after varied fortunes, he became prior of S. Rufus near Arles. His culture, his eloquence, and his handsome presence attracted the attention of Eugenius III. when Breakspear came to Rome on business connected with his convent. The Pope made him Cardinal of Albano, and sent him as legate to Norway, where he ordered the affairs of the Church with great circumspection. Nicholas, just returned from this mission, was unanimously elected, and ascended the sacred chair as Adrian IV. on December 5, 1154. The English have only once seen the chair of Peter filled by one of their countrymen, and this, their only pope, ashamed to solicit alms at home, had gone when a boy to foreign lands.¹ Years passed, and the beggar of S. Alban's wrote to the English king that Ireland and other islands belonged by right to him as Pope.

Adrian IV.,
Pope,
1154-1159.

Adrian IV. at once confronted the Roman commune with an imperious aspect; the Senate refused to recognise him, he refused to recognise the Senate. He determined to overthrow the constitution on the Capitol, and hoped to accomplish his object by means of Frederick's arms. The King had already

¹ He begged at the monastery of S. Alban's; his father, ashamed of him, drove him forth; *ille vero sibi relictus, et forti necessitate aliquid audere coactus: Gallicanus abiit regiones, ingenuus erubescens in Anglia vel fodere vel mendicare.* Thus says his countryman and contemporary, *Guilielmus Neobrigensis de rebus Anglicis*, ii. 6.

entered Italy in October, and had ratified the treaty of Constance. Adrian demanded the expulsion of Arnold, which his predecessors had repeatedly desired, but had never been able to attain. The most dangerous of all heretics, protected by the Senate and idolised by the populace, was able to preach his doctrines for years in the very face of the popes. With the overthrow of this one demagogue, Adrian hoped to bury the republic, and the Romans, who had little to expect from Frederick, turned in secret to William I., who had succeeded his celebrated father Roger on the throne of Sicily in February 1154, and had immediately quarrelled with the Pope. It is possible that he may have been invited to invade the State of the Church before the German king came to Rome.¹

Adrian IV. could not even take possession of the Lateran, but was obliged to make his dwelling in the fortified basilica of S. Peter. The proposal which Italy makes to the Pope of the present day, namely, that he should rest satisfied with the Leonina, where, like a great abbot, he might live in monastic freedom, was carried into effect by the Romans at this period, since Adrian IV. was practically restricted within the limits of the Leonina. Meanwhile the growing hatred of the priests, whose resistance frustrated the civic aspirations of the Romans, soon gave rise to a catastrophe; a cardinal was stabbed on the Via Sacra, and Adrian represented

¹ The harsh beginning of Adrian's rule is noticed in the *Anna's of Wurzburg*: *Adrianus qui dum post aliquot menses accepto apostolatu insolenter in Romanos ageret, grave odium incurrit.*

the deed as an offence against the majesty of the Church, and laid the interdict on Rome. Not even when personally maltreated by the Romans had any pope ever before employed this—the most terrible of all weapons—against the city.¹ The resolute Englishman did not hesitate to wield it. In order to compel the people to banish Arnold, he laid Rome under a curse. We must realise the relation of the interdict—a species of moral starvation—to the belief of the age, in order to understand its force. With the imposition of the interdict, all religious ceremonies ceased, no mass was read, no sacrament was celebrated, beyond those of baptism and the communion to the dying, and these only under terrifying forms. The dead were not buried in consecrated ground, and marriages only received the benediction in the churchyard. Never had human ingenuity devised so bloodless, yet so terrible, an instrument of force; nor in a superstitious age could any have proved more efficacious in reducing great princes to submission, a word pronounced by a priest having power to stir their despairing subjects to revolt. The interdict, which prior to the twelfth century had been but rarely called into use, was henceforward employed by the popes to threaten cities and countries; but the cruel measure of punishing the guilty few, at the cost of suffering to the countless

He lays
Rome
under the
interdict.

¹ *Girardum Cardin. tit. S. Pudenticane ad presentiam ipsius Pontificis euntem, quidam ex ipsis hæreticis—in via sacra—ad interitum vulneraverunt: Card. Aragon. Propter vulnerationem unius Cardinalis totam Urbem supposuit ecclesiastico interdicto, says Ptolem. Lucensis, xx. c. 20, in reproach.*

innocent, revenged itself on the Church, by diminishing the affection in which she was held, and by encouraging heresies. The efficacy of the interdict was finally blunted by its frequent use and by the growth of education.¹

For a short time the Romans bore the interdict with defiant contempt; but the pious and weak, the women and priests, overcame the defiance when the fourth day of Holy Week had passed without a mass. On Wednesday the people rose in uproar, and the Senators were compelled to throw themselves at the feet of the Pope and implore mercy.² He consented to remove the interdict on condition that Arnold was banished. The unfortunate reformer suffered the fate of all prophets; the people whom he had so long held spellbound surrendered him. After having dedicated his talents for nine years to civic freedom, he fled from Rome. Wandering from adherent to adherent, from fortress to fortress, the outlaw hoped to reach one of the republics of Central Italy, beyond the reach of the papal arm. On Wednesday in Holy Week (March 23) Adrian removed the interdict; the moral darkness vanished from Rome, and for the first time the Pope was conducted in festal procession to the Lateran.

The
Romans
expel
Arnold
from the
city.

Meanwhile William I. afflicted the Church with

¹ Hurter (*Gesch. Innocens III.*, vol. I.) has circumstantially described the interdict and its effects. He well says: *quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achiivi*; he forgets, however, to place beside the Agamemnon the frantic Calchas of the Middle Ages.

² *Tunc vero prædicti Senatores compulsi a clero et populo romano—juraverunt quod saepe dictum hæreticum et reliquos ipsius sectatores de tota urbe Roma et ejus finibus sine mora expellerent*: Card. Aragon.

war; he laid siege to Benevento, and burnt Ceprano and other fortresses in Latium; but as the German king approached and Rome remained quiet, he retreated from Frosinone and Aquino, after having committed fearful devastation. Frederick I. was already in Tuscany, where he summoned Pisa to equip her fleet for the war, which, in alliance with the Pope, the Apulian exiles, and the Emperor Emmanuel, he now contemplated against the Normans. The terror of his warlike deeds in Lombardy preceded him; he approached by the Via Toscana, more formidable than Henry V., while the Pope remained uncertain whether to expect a friend or foe. The fate of Paschalis II. had made an indelible impression on the Curia, and no treaty could diminish the tension which existed between the two powers. When German kings advanced against Rome, the defenceless popes trembled, as before enemies who came to murder them, while the kings themselves weighed the possibility of meeting their death by poison or the dagger. Below the silken pallia hung the whetted swords which the Romans unfailingly seized to attack the national enemy. If the coronation took place, the popes found themselves in the position of Daniel in the lion's den. But they adroitly cast a moral spell over the grim Roman kings, and once more breathed freely when these formidable advocates of the Church departed, having obtained the crown, left parchments behind them, and fought the accustomed coronation battle.

At the beginning of June Adrian went to Viterbo, accompanied by the Prefect Peter, by Oddo Frangi-

VOL. IV.

2 M

Expedition
to Rome of
Frederick
I., 1155.

Arnold of
Brescia
taken
prisoner.

pane, and by other nobles of his court. Frederick's rapid march filled him with dismay; he consequently sent three cardinals, who met the King at San Quirico in Tuscany. In order to test his disposition, the Pope demanded the surrender of the heretic Arnold. The fugitive had shortly before fallen into the power of Cardinal Oddo at Bricola, but had been restored to liberty by the Viscounts of Campaniano, who brought him in safety to their fortress, and there honoured him "as a prophet."¹ Anxious to remove every hindrance to his coronation, Frederick did not hesitate to show his good-will. He sent troops to the fortress, had one of the counts arrested, and compelled the surrender of Arnold. The friend of Abelard was handed over to the papal legates to be judged in Rome at a fitting opportunity.

Negotiations for the coronation were carried on with anxious circumspection; the suspicious Adrian had retired to Civita Castellana, but Frederick reassured him by again swearing to fulfil the treaty of

¹ *Redderet eisd. Cardinalib. Arnald. Hereticum, quem viscomites de Campaniano abstulerant Magistro O. Diacono S. Nicolai apud Briculas, ubi eum ceperat; quem tamquam Prophetam in terra sua cum honore habebant. Rex vero—continuo, missis apparitoribus, cepit unum de comitibus illis, qui valde perterritus eundem hereticum in manibus cardinalium statim restituit: Card. Aragon., p. 442. Otto of Freising also says: in Tuscia finibus captus. After Troya (*Civiltà Cattol. Ann.*, ii. vol. iv. p. 142), Odorici, and then Giesebrecht, have sought to prove that Bricola was not Otricoli (as Baronius holds), but was situated near S. Quirico in the Val d'Orcia, while they call the viscounts after Campagnatico. The correctness of this view has been contested by P. Fabre (*Ecole Fr. Mélanges*, 1886, p. 159), who tries to show that Bricola was the *Castrum Turris Campanæ* near Otricoli.*

Constance. The German army encamped at Campo Grasso near Sutri, where the Pope was to come from Nepi, and the meeting between the two potentates was to take place. As Adrian rode to the royal tent on July 9, a most curious scene took place within sight of the army. In order to avoid the humiliation of holding the papal stirrup, the proud young monarch had not come to meet the Pope. The popes had long claimed this service, and many princes had rendered it. In remembrance of Christ's humility, the pontiffs, it is true, had called themselves the "Servants of the servants of God." At the same time, however, they required the emperors to serve them as grooms. It is amusing to notice the panic terror which the omission of this ceremony caused among the cardinals; they turned their horses, fled back to Civita Castellana, and left their Pope in the lurch. He dismounted in confusion and threw himself on a seat. Only now did the young hero come to greet him. Frederick cast himself at Adrian's feet, but the offended Pope refused him the kiss of peace. A stirrup became the subject of long and serious negotiations between the two highest dignitaries of Christendom, until the princes who had previously accompanied Lothar to Rome persuaded the King to yield in the childish controversy. The following day the mighty Emperor performed the part of groom to the Vicar of Christ, walked at the distance of a stone's throw beside the palfrey of the former beggar of S. Alban's, and vigorously adjusted his stirrup.¹

Meeting
between
Frederick
and the
Pope at
Nepi.

¹ This comic episode in the midst of a great epic is authentically

Frederick had not yet heard the voice of the second power which possessed a legal right over the imperial election—the voice of the Roman people. Their mutual relations remained doubtful, and it was uncertain whether Rome would open or shut her gates. No emperor had been crowned since the Senate had been constituted on the Capitol. The envoys of the young republic of the Romans presented themselves before Frederick on the southern side of Sutri. Their demands, their address, the answer of the Hohenstaufen, even in the literary setting of Otto of Freising, are valuable evidences of the time.

Speech of
the Roman
envoys to
the King.

"We ambassadors of the city," thus spoke the envoys from the Capitol, "not insignificant men of Rome, are sent by the Roman Senate and people to thy Excellency. Benevolently hear what the illustrious mistress of the world, whose sovereign thou, with God's help, wilt soon be, offers thee. Dost thou come in peace, I rejoice. Thou desirest the empire of the world, and I gladly rise to hasten forward with the crown. Why shouldest thou not approach thy people in peace and mercy, thy people, who, striving to throw off the unworthy yoke of the priests, have awaited thy coming so long and anxiously. May the splendour of ancient times,

recorded by Cencius (in Muratori, *Antiqu. Ital.*, i. 117). The place was beside the Lake of Janula near Nepi. *Rex Frid.—in conspectu exercitus officium stratoris cum jucunditate implevit, et streugam fortiter tenuit.* The *fortiter* reveals a scene: Adrian pale, the Emperor, with an ironical smile, briskly removing the stirrup. The Byzantines jeered at this act of humiliation on the part of the Emperor of the West. Cinnamus, ed. Bonn., lib. v. 219.

the freedom of the illustrious city, return. May Rome under such an Emperor again seize the reins of supremacy over the rebellious world, and may her ruler with the name also unite the glory of Augustus. Thou knowest that, through the wisdom of her Senate and the bravery of her knighthood, Rome has stretched forth her arm with might from sea to sea, to the ends of the world—yea, even to the isles beyond the confines of the earth. Neither the waves of the ocean nor the inaccessible Alps could protect nations: Roman valour has overcome all. But unfortunately (thus her own guilt has avenged itself) that glorious princely nobility of our olden times (I speak of the Senate), has vanished from us, has degenerated into unwarlike indolence, and with the decline of wisdom, power has also decayed. Then I arose; to restore thy glory and that of the divine republic, I revived Senate and knightly order, that by the counsels of the former and the weapons of the latter the ancient majesty might return to the Roman empire and to thee. Shall not this rejoice thy Highness? Does not a work so glorious and so advantageous to thy dignity seem deserving of recompense? Then listen, O Prince, with kindly patience to what I have to say concerning thy duty and mine, but chiefly thine rather than mine. For 'from Zeus is the beginning!' Thou wast my guest; I have now made thee a citizen. What was mine by right I have given thee. Thou art, therefore, pledged first of all to uphold my good customs and to swear to the laws, ratified by thy predecessors, so that they may not be injured by the

fury of the barbarian. Thou shalt pay 5000 pounds to my officials, whose duty it is to proclaim thee on the Capitol; thou shalt avert every injury from the republic at the cost of thy blood, and thou shalt confirm this by oath and documents."¹ Frederick indignantly interrupted the pompous orators at this point. They stopped in dismay, while the man who had been the moving spirit among them awaited in chains hard by in a tent the fate which had been hastened by such a discourse.

As the young prince listened to the bombastic harangue of men, who, issuing from the ruins of decayed Rome, adopted a tone such as the ancient Senate had never ventured to use in presence of the Cæsars, he may probably have thought that madmen stood before him. No contrast could have been harsher than that in which an Emperor of the Germans, a Frederick I., found himself in relation to the Romans. The Hohenstaufen monarch, filled with a sense of his own power, did not understand the new spirit of liberty which had inflamed the cities of Italy. Rome, however, still commanded such reverence that he condescended to reply to the Senators.²

¹ The speech is worked up by the German historian, but in harmony with the spirit of the time. *Cur enim summi visitaturus populum non pacifice advenires—qui indebitum clericorum excussurus jugum, ipsius magna ac diutina expectatione præstolatus est adventum? —Orbis Urbis sub hoc principe recipiat gubernacula, refrænetur hoc imperatore, ac ad Urbis reducatur monarchiam orbis insolentia.* In like manner with fantastic exaggeration Helmold, a contemporary (*Chron. Slavor.*, l. c. 79). See also Sigeb., *Auctar. Affligemense*, A. 1155; and Frederick's own letter to Otto of Freising, prefixed to the latter's history.

² Otto of Freising draws a picture of the Emperor on this occasion :

"I have heard much," he answered, "of the valour, still more of the sagacity of the Romans. I am therefore surprised that your speech should be inflated by such foolish arrogance and be so destitute of all reason. Thou holdest up before me the nobility of thy ancient city, thou exaltest the past of thy republic to the stars. I grant it, and with thy historian I say 'virtue once dwelt in this republic.' Rome has experienced the change of things under the moon; or has perchance this city alone been able to escape the law of all earthly things? It is known throughout the world how the flower of thy nobility has been transplanted from this our city to Byzantium, and how for a long time the degenerate Greek has drained thy precious life-blood. Then came the Frank, whose noble deeds belied not his name, and deprived thee of even the last remains of nobility and independence. Wilt thou know where the ancient glory of thy Rome, the dignified severity of the Senate, the valiant chastity of knighthood, the tactics of the camp and invincible military courage have gone? All are now found among us Germans; all have been transmitted to us with the empire. With us are thy Consuls, with us thy Senate; thy legions

The
German
King's
answer
to the
Romans.

rex, tam superbo quam inusitato orationis tenore justa indignatione inflammatus, cursum verborum illorum—more italico longa continuatione, periodorumque circuitibus (as at the present day) sermonem producturum interrupit, et cum corporis modestia, orisque venustate regalem servans animum, ex improvise non improvise respondit. Barbarossa spoke through an interpreter, as he did later at the peace of Venice. Since the greater number of the Senators were no longer able to speak Latin, the Emperor of the Romans may have comforted himself with the thought of their ignorance.

are here. Thou owest thy preservation to the wisdom of the Franks and the sword of their chivalry. History can tell whether our illustrious forefathers, Charles and Otto, received the city by the grace of anyone, or whether they wrested it by the sword, with the remainder of Italy, from the Greeks and Lombards and then incorporated it with the Frankish kingdom. This is witnessed by thy tyrants, Desiderius and Berengar; they died old and grey in Frankish chains, and our country still preserves their ashes. But thou sayest the new emperors are summoned by thee. It is true. But why? Thou wast oppressed by enemies, and by thine own strength couldst not deliver thyself from the effeminate Greek. Thou didst then entreat the aid of the Frank; misery summoned fortune, impotence power, anguish self-conscious strength. Thus summoned, I came. Thy ruler was my vassal, thou thyself art still my subject, I am the rightful owner. Who dares to snatch his club from Hercules? Perhaps the Sicilian on whom thou placest thy hopes? Let the past teach him, for the arm of the German is not yet disabled. Thou demandest from me a threefold oath. Listen. Either thy demand is just, or otherwise. Is it unjust? Thou oughtest not to make it, nor I to consent. Is it just? I acknowledge an obligation assumed of my own free will. It is therefore unnecessary to confirm it by an oath.¹ How should I violate the law with thee, when I have to preserve it for the most

¹ The Emperor himself says in a letter preceding Otto of Freising's history: *Imperium emere nolimus, et sacramenta vulgo prestare non debuimus.*

insignificant? Wherefore should I not defend the seat of my empire whose boundaries I am determined to restore? That is shown by Denmark, which has just been subjugated, and other countries also would prove it, had not my Roman journey interfered. Finally thou demandest a sworn promise to pay money. Is Rome not ashamed to traffic with her Emperor as with a usurer? Are we to be compelled to give whatever is asked of us instead of being a dispenser of favour? The fulfilment of due services is expected from lesser men, but the great repay as a favour only that which has been merited. Why should I withhold from thy citizens the customs inherited from my illustrious forefathers? No. My entrance shall be a festival for the city; but to those who unjustly demand what is unjust, I will justly refuse all."¹

Frederick's answer, in the rhetorical form in which his historian has given it, was the expression of the German national pride arrived at the zenith of its three centuries of universal supremacy. Had it simply had reference to the Senators of Rome it would have been overstrained; it was, however, rather the manifesto of the Hohenstaufen coronation programme. The Hercules struck down the claims of the pretenders with his club. He even fell upon the Pope, who claimed to be the sole and true maker of emperors. No one now ventured to depict the complaisant Lothar in the Lateran, kneeling to receive

¹ The speech, which owes its style to Otto of Freising, has a touch of Virgil, as has that of the Romans themselves. *Eripiat quis, si potest, Clavam de manu Herculis.*

the crown from the Pope, or dared to place below the picture the audacious inscription :—

The king to keep the law hath sworn, and at the gate of Rome
doth stand,
Then swears allegiance to the Pope, the crown receiving from
his hand.¹

The folly of the Romans in addressing so powerful a ruler in this pompous manner corresponded to their lofty ideas concerning the majesty of the Eternal City, which, by the institution of a Senate, they hoped to invest with a new life. But had any man of enlightenment superior to the level of his age been found within the imperial tent, he would have laughed at Frederick, who shared with the Senators the fantastic ideas of the legitimate authority of the Roman emperors over the world.²

Return of
the envoys
to the
defiant
city.

The Roman envoys rode back in anger. Frederick might now expect the republic to close the gates of the city and to defend it against him. The Pope advised him to occupy the Leonina with picked men, who would be admitted by the papal adherents. He also advised that Cardinal Octavian, a man of

¹ Frederick complained of the picture on his arrival in Rome; Adrian promised to destroy it, but does not seem to have fulfilled his promise. Radevicus, i. c. 10; and c. 16 the bishops refer to it in their letter to the Pope in 1156.

² *Quomodo imperii mei sedem, usque ad periculum capitis non defenderem, qui et ipsius terminos—quantum est in me, restaurare cogitaverim.* Barbarossa later wrote to Saladin: "Dost thou not know that both the Ethiopias, Mauritania, Persia, Syria, Parthia, where Crassus our dictator succumbed to destiny, that Judea and Samaria, Arabia, and other lands without number are subject to our rule?" The letter of 1188 (in Roger Hoveden, *Annals*, p. 650) may be spurious or falsified, but its spirit is genuine.

German sympathies, should join this force, in order that so ambitious a rival might be removed from the emperor's tent. A thousand horsemen were sent, who occupied the Leonina without opposition in the dawn of June 18.¹

2. CORONATION OF FREDERICK I.—THE ROMANS RISE—
BATTLE IN THE LEONINA—EXECUTION OF ARNOLD
OF BRESCIA—HIS CHARACTER AND SIGNIFICANCE—
FREDERICK RETIRES TO THE CAMPAGNA—RETURNS
TO GERMANY.

The same day Frederick, who had received no greeting from the Romans, moved in order of battle from Monte Mario to the Leonina, where he was awaited by the Pope, who had preceded him.² The coronation took place in S. Peter's, the basilica being occupied by troops. The shouts of triumph of the Germans resounded like thunder in the lofty cathedral, as the young Cæsar took the sword, sceptre and crown of empire.³ Rome, however, did not acknowledge him as Emperor; the city gates

Frederick
I. crowned
Emperor,
June 18,
1155.

¹ *Præmittantur—qui eccl. B. Petri, Leoninumque occupent castrum* (Otto of Freising and Frederick's letter). This castrum is the Leonina itself. Farther on we read; *summoque diluculo Leoninam intrantes urbem, eccl. B. Petri, vestibulum et gradus occupaturi, observant.*

² The Latin poem of a contemporary, *Gesta di Federico I. in Italia* (edited from a Vatican Codex by E. Monaci in the *Fonti per la stor. Ital.* of the *Istit. stor. Italiano*, Rome, 1887), p. 611 ff., is mistaken in the statement that the Romans again demanded the oath from Frederick at Monte Mario (Gaudia), but were repulsed. Concerning this poem, see Giesebrecht in the *Arch. d. Soc. Romana di stor. patr.*, vol. ii.

³ *Statim tam vehemens at fortis Teutonicorum vox conclamantium—concrepuit, ut horribile tonitruum crederetur de caelis cecidisse*: Card. Aragon.

remained barred and the people deliberated on the Capitol, where the Palace of the Senate had been rebuilt a short time before. Nothing better illustrates the shadowy nature of the mediæval empire in Rome itself than this coronation performed in the papal suburb, while it was expected that the Romans, from whom the emperors derived their title, would rush across the bridges of the Tiber brandishing their arms. An impassable chasm of education, of requirements, of race separated the emperors of German origin from the Romans. If they hated the foreigner Adrian IV. as their territorial ruler, they could nevertheless reverence him as Pope, but Frederick must at this time have been utterly insupportable to them. He had not sworn to the laws of the city, to which all emperors were accustomed to swear; he had neither heard the votes of the Romans nor listened to the usual acclamations; nor had he repaid them by gifts. The Romans had every reason to feel offended.¹ Their demand that the Emperor should recognise their constitution was reasonable, and it was imprudent to refuse it. A time came when the Emperor repented this refusal, and when he tendered the oath to the despised citizens.

¹ Otto of Freising, ii. c. 23: *Audientes autem imperatorem sine sua adstipulatione coronam Imperii accepisse, in furorem versi . . .* and Godfrey of Viterbo, *Carmen de Gestis Frider.*, p. 24 (ed. Ficker, 1853):—

*Romanus populus antiquos expedit usus,
Rex despexit eum primatum, milite tutus.
Nil petit inno jubet, Roma furore tunet.
Spe male frustratus discedit abinde senatus,
Acriter iratus Romanus ad arma paratur . . .
Roma dolens plorat, rumor in Urbe sonat.*

After the popes had ceased to be candidates for the elective votes of the Romans, the people also found themselves deprived of all share in the election of these emperors. At a time, however, when the civic and political conceptions of law were penetrated through and through with traditions of antiquity, the Romans could not be induced to confess that the Eternal City was anything but the place where pope and emperor received their highest consecration. While other cities shone conspicuous by their wealth and power, Rome's only glory was that she was Rome. Gregory VII. had assigned the task of representing the world-monarchy to the Papacy, and the Romans on their side dreamed that this supremacy was to be attained by the majesty of the people and by the imperial office by them established.

Their inherited claims and their struggles against the popes, who strove to extinguish the political idea of the city, have impressed for centuries a tragic character on their history, a history unparalleled in the annals of mankind. In this struggle, which has continued down to our times, and under the influence of which the present history is written—in this struggle against one and the same destiny, the only allies of the Romans were the walls of Aurelian, the Tiber, the malaria, and the shades and monuments of their great ancestors. Only now, when the city of Rome has no other ambition than the desire of descending to the ordinary rank of capital of a country, has she found a helper and ally in the Italian nation.

The Emperor having obtained his crown, retired.

The
Romans
courage-
ously
attack the
imperial
camp.

to his camp on the Neronian Field, while the Pope remained in the Vatican. But early in the afternoon the angry Romans rushed across the bridges into the Leonine city. Wherever they encountered the enemy singly, they cut them down; they plundered clergy, cardinals, and adherents of the imperial party; they finally attacked Frederick's camp, whence they perhaps hoped to rescue their prophet Arnold. The Emperor and the army rose from the coronation banquet; it was reported that Pope and cardinals were in the hands of the populace.¹ Henry the Lion entered through the breach in the walls which had formerly been made by Henry IV., forced his way to the Leonina, and attacked the Romans in the rear. It cost the valiant army some trouble, however, to overcome them. Their courageous conduct showed that the constitution of the republic was not altogether a fantastic whim. A varying struggle, which lasted until night, took place at the bridge of S. Angelo, and with the Trasteverines at the ancient Fishpond, until the citizens were overcome by superior numbers. "Our soldiers were seen," thus wrote an ancient German chronicler, "mowing down the Romans, as if they would say, 'Here, O Rome, take German iron for Arabian gold; thus does Germany buy the empire.'" Nearly one thousand Romans were slain or drowned in the river; several were wounded, about two hundred were taken prisoners; the remainder saved themselves by

Defeat
of the
Romans.

¹ Otto of Freising and Frederick's letter: *Romani de ponte Tyberino prosiluerunt—Cardinalibus spoliatis, Papam capere intendebant.*

flight into the strongly fortified city, while S. Angelo, in the possession of the Pierleoni, remained neutral.¹

In the morning the Pope appeared in the imperial camp to implore the release of the prisoners, who had been given into the custody of the Prefect Peter. So incomplete, however, had been the bloody victory that even the great Emperor, who regarded himself as the lawful ruler of the world, was obliged to depart without even having entered the city. The Romans at this period showed themselves entirely worthy of their freedom; they manfully bade defiance to the Emperor from behind their walls; they refused to sell him the necessaries of life, and were ready to continue the struggle. Frederick consequently broke up his camp on June 19. He took the Pope and all the cardinals with him as fugitives and retreated towards Soracte; all along his line of march through the Roman district he ordered the towers which the

¹ This is justly admitted by Rob. Dettloff, *Der erste Römerzug Kaiser Friedrich's I.* (Göttingen, 1871), p. 37. S. Angelo seems also to have given shelter to fugitives. Frederick can scarcely have previously occupied the bridge of the Tiber, but merely have sent forward troops against the fortress. The Romans pressed over this bridge, others over the island through Trastevere (Otto Morena, *Murat.*, vi. 987). Card. Aragon.: *Populus, qui clausis portis apud Castrum Crescentis residebat armatus*—at the end of the struggle: *infra portas ipsius castris se ipsum recepit*. Otto of Freising: *pugna conseritur—juxta castr. Crescentii cum Romanis, juxta piscinam cum Transstyberinis* (where S. Benedetto in Piscinula now stands). Sigeb., *Auctar. Aquicinct.*, ad. A. 1155, and Helmold, *Chron. Slavor.*, c. 80, ascribe the chief merit to Henry the Lion, whom the Pope rewarded on this account. Thus also *Annal. Palidenses* (*Mon. Germ.*, xvi.) and more circumstantially Vincent of Prague (*Mon. Germ.*, xvii. 655).

Roman nobles had erected on their estates to be pulled down.¹

It is probable that Arnold's execution took place at this time, and in this same neighbourhood of Soracte. The end of the celebrated demagogue is as obscure as the end of Crescentius, his contemporaries passing it hastily by as if in awe. After his surrender he was handed over to the City Prefect, who with his powerful family owned large estates in the county of Viterbo. They had long made war on the Roman commune, had suffered severe injuries at its hands, and consequently cherished feelings of bitter indignation against Arnold.² After he had been condemned by a spiritual tribunal the Prefect sentenced him (and undoubtedly with the Emperor's sanction) to death as a heretic and rebel. The unfortunate man courageously refused to recant; he asserted that his teaching was just and salutary, and that he was ready to

¹ *Gesta di Federico I.* (ed. Monaci), v. 754 ff.

² Geroh, *De Investig. Antichr.*, i. (Gretser, *Prolegom. ad scriptor. adv. Waldenses*, c. 4), expressly ascribes Arnold's death to the Prefect of the city: *a praf. Urbis R. de sub eorum custodia—creptus ac pro speciali causa occisus ab ejus servis est. Maximam siquidem cladem ex occasione ejusdem doctrine idem Præf. a Romanis civibus perpassus fuerat.* I explain this passage by a document of July 17, 1158: the Prefect (Peter) and his brothers John and Octavian certified to Adrian IV. in Viterbo that they had received 1000 marks, and the revenues of Civita Castellana, &c., as security, *de damno castror., domor.—occasione guerra quam habuimus cum Pop. R. pro R. Ecclesia.* The Pope promised to have their houses in Rome restored. The *Præfectus, Johannes Præfecti, et Octavianus germani fratres, Petrus Johannis, Johannes Caparrone* (all landed proprietors in Viterbo), *Petrus de Atteja* (in Nepi) constituted the kinsfolk of the Prefetti of Vico and Viterbo (Mural., *Ant.*, iv. 31; Theiner, i. xxv.).

die for his principles. He only asked for a brief respite that he might confess his sins to Christ; he knelt with uplifted hands, prayed to heaven and commended his soul to God. The executioner himself was moved to pity. Such is the account given by a recently discovered poem, written by a Brescian of imperial sympathies. This author, in common with other contemporaries, says that Arnold was hanged and then burned, in order that none of his remains might fall into possession of the Romans—a fact which proves to what degree he was idolised by the people. According to others, his ashes were thrown into the Tiber. The scene of his execution is nowhere designated with certainty.¹

The smoke from Arnold's funeral pyre darkens the youthful but already blood-stained majesty of the Emperor, to whose immediate needs he fell a sacrifice. But avengers already existed in the

¹ Otto of Freising: *principis examini reservatus est . . . a pref. Urbis ligno adactus, ac rogo in pulverem funere redacto, ne a stolidi plebe corpus ejus venerationi haberetur, in Tyberim sparsus*. Godfrey (Pantheon, Muratori, vii. 464): *Strangulat hunc laqueus, ignis et unda vehunt. Gero: suspensio neci traditus . . . crematus atque in Tyberim proiectus est, ne Rom. popul. . . sibi eum martyrem dedicaret*. The Roman Acts in Card. Aragon, are silent. *Annal. Einsiedl.* (Mon. Germ., v.), A. 1155: *suspensus est. Palidenses: prefecto traditur et suspensio adjudicatur. Gesta di Fed. I.: ne cui reliquis superent fortasse colende*, v. 860. Sismondi, Leo and Raumer transfer the execution to the Piazza del Popolo. It could not, however, have taken place in Rome, where the gates were barred. Only one of three things is possible: either Arnold was executed before Frederick's entrance; or immediately after the coronation and the attack; or after the Emperor had retired to Soracte. The anonymous writer of the *Gesta di Feder. I.* places it in the time immediately following the Emperor's departure.

burghers of the Lombard cities, who were later to compel Frederick to recognise the glorious work of freedom which had been so powerfully influenced by Arnold's spirit. The hand of the mighty has often unconsciously shattered the instruments of great movements, movements which have overwhelmed the mighty themselves. Frederick did not see Arnold of Brescia in the light in which he now appears to us, and the Emperor had perhaps heard but little of the reformer. Of what importance to him was the life of a single heretic? And even were he acquainted with the facts of Arnold's life, he had been at war with the cities of Northern Italy and with Rome, and could never, therefore, have been favourably disposed to the Lombard,—the political innovator. He thus destroyed a glorious force, which might later have been of the greatest service to himself.¹ Frederick showed but little foresight in Rome. Instead of magnanimously restricting the Roman democracy within reasonable limits, as he might easily have done, and then removing it from the papal influence and placing it under the authority of the empire, he repelled it with blind contempt, made enemies of several other cities, and at length saw all his extravagant schemes fall to ruin.

Arnold of Brescia heads the series of celebrated martyrs for freedom who died upon the funeral pyre, but whose ardent genius rose like a phoenix from the flames to live through centuries. We

¹ According to the *Gesta di Feder.*, Barbarossa suffered remorse for Arnold's death when it was too late, v. 850: *Set doluisse datur super hoc rex sero misertus.*

might even call him a prophet, so clearly did he see into the spirit of his time, so far did he advance towards the goal, which, not until 700 years after him, Rome and Italy are hoping to reach. The already mature consciousness of his age was incarnate in the gifted person of the reformer, and the first political heretic of the Middle Ages was the logical consequence of the quarrel for investitures. The struggle of the two powers and the transformation of the cities were the great practical phenomena which served him as a historical basis.¹ An inner necessity drew him to the spot where the root of all the evil lay. If Arnold had not gone to Rome, had not ended his life here, he would have been an incomplete figure of his age. But Rome, oppressed at the same time by the weight of her ancient greatness, and by the two supreme powers in the world, could not permanently maintain her civic freedom. The constitution, to which Arnold may perhaps as a law-giver have largely contributed, nevertheless long survived him; the school of the Arnoldists or politicians never died out. Arnold is the historic precedent for all the forces, theoretical or practical, which have revolted against the secular character of the clergy; this so much the more because his aims were not sullied by any sordid motives.² For even

Survival
of the
ideal of the
martyr in
the history
of Rome
and Italy.

¹ I maintain this in opposition to Raumer, who says: "He did not understand how to associate his schemes with any of the great movements of the age, but attacked the State and the Church of his time with like hostility, while his enthusiasm was dedicated to objects which had entirely passed away, and for the revival of which he exerted himself in vain."

² A German, Geroh, Prior of Reichersberg (who died 1169), shared

his most violent opponents admitted that he was only influenced by enthusiastic conviction. Arnold surpasses all his successors in the struggle for Roman liberty, not only in the greatness of his time, but also in the loftiness of his aims. Savonarola, with whom he has been compared, is frequently rendered offensive to every manly judgment by the monastic character of his intellect and by his claims to supernatural powers. But neither miracles or oracles are attributed to the friend of Abelard. He seems to have been sane, manly, and clear; whether it is that he really was so, or that history has withheld many circumstances of his life. His teaching was of such enduring vitality, that it is still in harmony with the spirit of our time, and Arnold of Brescia would now be the most popular man in Italy. For so obstinate is the ban of the Middle Ages under which Rome and Italy are still held, that the soul of a heretic in the twelfth century has not yet found rest, but must still haunt Rome.¹

Frederick crossed the Tiber at Magliano, and proceeded by Farfa, as Henry V. had done before him, to the Lucanian Bridge. Here the festival of SS.

with Arnold the view that the clergy had nothing to do with political power. *Quem ego vellem pro tali doctrina (political maxims) sua quamvis prava, vel exilio, vel carcere, aut alia pena, præter mortem, punitum esse, vel saltem taliter occisum, ut Rom. Eccl. seu curia ejus necis quæstione careret.* And he calls Arnold's efforts pure and noble—*Zelo forte bono, sed minori scientia . . . his execution neque perperam acta.*

¹ On February 13, 1862, placards were posted in Loreto, on which was printed: *Viva il Papa non Re! Viva Arnaldo da Brescia! Viva il Clero liberale!* In 1883 the city of Brescia erected a bronze statue to the famous reformer, to which Zürich also contributed.

Peter and Paul was celebrated with great splendour under tents, and the Pope absolved the German troops of all blame for the blood which had been shed in Rome. The cities of the Campagna hastened to discharge the oppressive *foderum* to the Emperor, other cities to do him homage, or to place themselves under his protection, and Tivoli, which out of hatred to Rome had ranged itself under the papal banner, now even hoped to throw off the authority of the Pope. Envoys of the commune (which was now undoubtedly headed by consuls) gave the keys of the town to the Emperor as overlord. In revenge against the Romans, Frederick would have strengthened a town which was at enmity with the Senate, but Adrian advanced the rights of the Church, and the Emperor released the Tivolese from the oath of subjection which they had just taken, and gave them back their town.¹ The restitution of Tivoli was the pitiful compromise enacted by the Pope, to whom Frederick could not fulfil his promise to make him sovereign of Rome.

He advanced to Tusculum, and remained with Adrian in the Alban Mountain until the middle of July.² He made an effort to attack Rome, but his expedition was of no avail: nor could he entertain William I.'s challenge to fight him in Apulia, his great German vassals justly refusing to sanction the

¹ Sicard, *Chron.*, p. 599. The Act of the surrender of Tivoli to the Pope *salvo tamen per omnia jure Imperiali* is given in Cencius and Card. Aragon.; in Theiner, i. n. xxi. The date is unfortunately wanting.

² The investiture of Jonathan, son of Ptolemy, with the half of Tusculum by the Church, is dated July 9, 1155. Theiner, i. n. 20.

Return
of the
Emperor
Frederick
I.

proposal. Neither could he at this season enter on any undertaking against the Romans. The malaria now appeared among his discontented troops; he was obliged to turn and, not without some painful self-reproach, to abandon the Pope to his fate. He gave the prisoners into Adrian's hands; took leave of him in Tivoli, and set forth on his northern progress by way of Farfa. With barbarous indignation he reduced the ancient and celebrated city of Spoleto to ashes on his route. And like Demetrius in ancient times the great Hohenstaufen might with justice have been called "Destroyer of cities."¹

¹ Concerning Frederick's retreat, see Otto of Freising, ii. c. 24: *e vicinis stagnis, cavernosisque, ac ruinosis circa Urbem locis tristibus erumpentibus . . . nebulis, totus vicinus crassatur aer, ad hauriendum mortalibus lethifer, ac pestilens. Urgebatur hoc incommodo in Urbe civis, hoc tempore ad montana consuetus fugere*: just as to-day. With regard to Spoleto, see the note in Papencordt, p. 267. I copied the following ancient inscription from a stone in the Palazzo del Comune there:—

*Hoc est Spoletum censu populoque repletum
Quod debellavit Fridericus et igne cremavit.
Si queris quando post partum Virginis anno
MCLV. Tres novies soles Julius tunc mensis habebat.*

3. ADRIAN MAKES WAR ON KING WILLIAM—IS FORCED TO ACCORD HIM THE INVESTITURE—ORVIETO BECOMES PAPAL—ADRIAN MAKES PEACE WITH ROME—DISCORD BETWEEN THE POPE AND EMPEROR—THE LOMBARD CITIES — ADRIAN NEGOTIATES WITH THEM AND QUARRELS WITH FREDERICK — THE ROMANS APPROACH THE EMPEROR—DEATH OF ADRIAN IV.—HIS ACTIVITY—HIS LAMENT OVER HIS MISFORTUNE IN BECOMING POPE.

The Pope found his hopes betrayed by the Emperor's departure. Rome had not been subjugated as the treaty of Constance had promised; he was still an exile, and the expedition against Sicily had never taken place. He resolutely collected vassals and mercenaries and hastened to Capua and Benevento in the autumn. He had already excommunicated William and had released the people of Apulia from their oath. He now came in person to uphold them in their revolt, and united himself with the rebellious barons and exiles, who did homage to him in Benevento. The revolt of all the provinces, the simultaneous energetic movement of the Greeks, with whom Adrian had openly allied himself, the rapid progress of the barons, the activity of the enterprising Pope, who was the soul of the insurrection, and who reaped its fruits, induced Roger's effeminate son to make favourable proposals to him, among which was that of reducing Rome to submission.¹ Nevertheless the prospect of peace was

¹ The treaty of Constance had bound the Pope as well as Frederick not to allow the Greeks to make conquests in Italy; in Adrian's

frustrated by the resistance of the imperial party among the cardinals. William, however, by a sudden effort succeeded in wresting Calabria and Apulia by assault from the Greeks and barons, and immediately advanced on Benevento, where the exiles had sought shelter with the Pope. Fortune for the third time smiled on the Normans. The perplexed Adrian was obliged to abandon his allies and to sue for peace.

Adrian IV.
invests
William I.
with Apulia
and Sicily,
1156.

The victor dictated terms in the neighbourhood of Benevento in June 1156, where he received the threefold investiture of Sicily, Apulia, and Capua; the Church, however, reserving many rights by stipulation.¹ This one-sided peace, by which the Pope, deserted by the Emperor, invested the enemy of the empire with territories of which Frederick declared himself to be the ruler, irritated the imperialists, who saw in it a breach of the treaty of Constance. Other reasons also soon arose to increase the tension which already existed.²

Adrian returned to the State of the Church in the summer, without, however, venturing to Rome. He

alliance with the Greeks the imperial party consequently saw a breach of the treaty.

¹ Oddo Frangipane administered the oath to the King (Card. Aragon). *Lignis homo papa devenit*. For William's haughty speech, see the Instrument of peace (Baron., *ad. A.* 1156, n. iv.); the investiture, n. vii.; *Vita Adriani* in Watterich, ii. 352. The Kings of Sicily now first received investiture of Salerno, Amalfi, Naples, and the Abruzzi (Marsia). The concordat made the Sicilian Church almost independent of Rome. Romuald, p. 197.

² *Hostibus imperii presul Romanus adhesit,
Federa dat Siculis, pariter dat federa Grecis,
Fit modo materies mortis et horo necis.*

—Godfrey, *De Gestis Frid.*, ed. Ficker, p. 28.

strengthened the papal power by treaties with great vassals and even with cities, and thus formally took possession of Orvieto.¹ He thence went to Viterbo, which henceforward became a frequent abode of the popes, and in November he entered the Lateran.² His peace with Rome was the result of the treaty with Sicily; King William induced the Romans to yield by means of gold and threats, and out of hatred to Frederick they came to an agreement. But this peace was also one-sided and calculated to irritate the Emperor—a result desired by the crafty Romans. The contents of the treaty are unknown. It was, however, probably based on the same foundations as the earlier contract with Eugenius III.

He takes up his abode in Viterbo, and concludes peace with Rome.

From this time forward the conflict between imperial, papal, and senatorial claims became the cause of a serious dissension between the Emperor and Adrian. Since Otto the Great no stronger man than Frederick had wielded the sword of empire. Conscious of the power of Germany, through which alone, as he asserted, he wore the crown of Constantine, he overthrew the pretensions of the Pope, who opposed him with the exaggerated ideas of Gregory VII. The principle of the absolute monarchy appeared in rude opposition to that of the absolute

¹ *Conventio inter Adr. IV, et Urbevitanos*: Murat., *Antiq. It.*, iv. 36, A. 1157 Ind. VI. M. Febr. The Pope is represented by seven cardinals, the city by one abbot, two consuls, and two nobili. Concerning Adrian's buildings in Orvieto: Monaldo Monaldeschi, *Comment. Historici*, Venet., 1854, 35.

² *Ad amicum et populosum Viterbii castrum descendit, et exinde ad Urbem et Lateran. Consistorium remeavit.* Card. Arag., p. 445. Jaffé shows that Adrian was in the Lateran on November 12, 1156.

Outbreak
of the
quarrel
between
Frederick
and
Adrian.

Church. The contrast between two strong characters threatened a renewal of the recent controversy; a despotic emperor confronted the arrogance of a priest, in whom the overstrained ideas of the Papacy had found their incarnation. Matilda's donation, the question of investitures, the peace made by the Pope with Sicily, the position of Rome in the ecclesiastical State added to the causes of dissension. Emperor and Pope had seldom before exchanged such angry words, and the language used brought out mercilessly the standpoint of the two parties, defined as it was by a contest of universal importance. The accidental robbery of a Swedish bishop by Burgundian knights, who remained unpunished by the Emperor, gave Adrian IV. occasion to remind Frederick that he owed his coronation to the grace of the Pope. The use of the ambiguous word "Beneficium" (in its legal sense a "fief") inflamed the anger of the Emperor and of his court. It was with difficulty that the cardinal-legates, the bearers of the papal letters, escaped death at Besançon at the hands of the German knights, and after an insulting dismissal returned to Rome.¹ Frederick addressed a manifesto to his empire, stigmatised the priestly view of the

¹ The well-known phrase: *si majora beneficia excellentia tua de manu nostras suscepisset . . .* Radevich, l. c. 8. Otto de S. Blasio, c. 8. One of the legates, Cardinal Roland, afterwards Alexander III., said briefly and boldly: *a quo ergo habet, si a dom. Papa non habet imperium?* To the Pope's letter of complaint to the German bishops (l. c., 15) the latter answered: *liberam Imperii nostri coronam divino tantum beneficio adscribimus.—In capite orbis Deus per Imperium exaltavit Ecclesiam, in capite orbis Ecclesia (non per Deum ut credimus) nunc demolitur Imperium.*

relation of the empire to the Papacy as mendacious arrogance, and protested that he had received the imperial power from God alone, and would rather die than see it humbled beneath the yoke of the clergy.¹ The times of Henry IV. were past, the entire German empire re-echoed to the imperial voice; princes and bishops, filled with patriotism, pronounced unanimously against the Pope, and Adrian, who found himself opposed by a German party among the cardinals, was forced to hasten to appease the anger of the Hohenstaufen. His new legates brought a letter of apology, in which he explained, like a pedant or grammarian, that he had not used the word "Beneficium" in the sense of a fief.

These nuncios found Frederick already in Augsburg, whither he had gone in June 1158, intending to return to Italy at the head of a strong force to reduce the rebellious cities and the entire country to subjection. Heroic Milan surrendered in September, and the empire now celebrated its most decisive but also its last triumph at the Diet of Roncaglia.²

The
Emperor
subjugates
Milan,
1158.

¹ *Cumque per electionem principum, a solo Deo Regnum et Imperium nostrum sit—quicumque nos Imperialem Coronam pro beneficio a D. Papa suscepisse dixerit, divina institutioni, et doctrina Petri contrarius est, et mendacii reus erit:* Radev., i. c. 10. The popes said that the emperors were such by the grace of God: the emperors, that they were by the grace of God (*gratia dei* or *divino beneficio*) through the election of the Parliament. The "Grace of God" had no mystic meaning in the Middle Ages, but signified just the same in the case of an emperor as in that of a city prefect.

² The celebrated Diet on the Field of Roncaglia near Piacenza was opened on November 14, 1158. Concerning the transactions there and the list of regalia, see H. Prutz, *Kaiser Friedrich I.* (Danzig, 1871), i. 168 ff.

The most celebrated jurists of Bologna, filled with enthusiasm for the ancient imperial law of Rome, fanned the pride of the powerful Emperor, by investing the Hohenstaufen imperium with the absolutism of Justinian, and explaining it as the legitimate supremacy of the world. At this period, when civic and political affairs sought a firm legal foundation, the cities as well as the Emperor appealed to Roman law and consequently came into harsh collision. But the living present severed the cities (Rome excepted) from antiquity, while the Emperor reverted now to the Cæsarism of Rome, now to Charles's theocratic empire, and in his infatuation fondly imagined that he could divert the democratic current of the century back into the groove of the absolutism of Justinian. In the bitter conflict between the burgher class and the imperial power, it was inevitable that the Papacy should speedily ally itself with the burghers. The quarrel for investitures, the conception of feudal law which governs an entire age, was the connecting link between them, or rather the ancient dispute was now (the concordat of Worms having tranquillised it within the Church) revived with fresh violence in civic spheres. It was also necessary for the cities to deprive the Emperor of the crown rights, the administration of justice, and the magistracy. Thus the struggle of Frederick I. with the Lombard cities was the second war for investitures, but a war with the burghers, out of which the republics as well as the Church issued triumphant and attained independence in the sphere of political law.

Adrian IV. had already entered into secret nego-

tiations with the cities, while at the same time he zealously cultivated the friendship of the Sicilian feudal monarchy. After so many triumphs Frederick, like Charles the Great, determined to rule over Rome and the bishops in his empire as over vassals. He sent his envoys to Italy, with orders to collect with unsparing severity the fiscal dues both from the property bequeathed by Matilda and from the State of the Church.¹ The Pope complained in a letter that Frederick exacted feudal dues from the bishops, and refused the cardinal-legates admission to the provinces; the Emperor replied with contempt that the Church had not owned any principality before the time of Constantine, that all the property of the holy chair was the gift of kings, that the bishops, who should only have been heirs of God, nevertheless held temporal dignities in the State, and consequently owed feudal obligations to the Emperor, since Christ had paid tribute to the emperor both for Himself and Peter.² The bishops must either surrender their temporal property or give the Emperor what was his due; the churches had been closed to the cardinal-legates, in order that the congregations might be protected against their rapacity. The Pope disgraced Christian humility when he brought temporal advantages, which had nothing to do with religion, into the discussion in sight of the world. This he was

He renews
the quarrel
for investitures.

¹ This already on the ground of the decrees of Roncaglia, by which the Emperor had been given as regalia: *Ducatus, Marchia, Comitatus, Consulatus, Moneta, Telonia, Foderum, Vectigalia, Portus, Pedatica, Molendina, Piscaria*. Radev., ii. c. 5, c. 10.

² We may remember that this was the phrase used by the Romans in their letter to Conrad.

obliged to say, because he saw how the abhorred beast of arrogance had climbed even to S. Peter's chair.¹

The Pope demands the independence of the State of the Church.

Thus Frederick revived the temporal side of the quarrel for investiture; he now spoke with the mouth of the Romans, and seemed transformed into the figure of the very Arnold whom he had executed only a few years before. The imperial power (for the moment at least) had entered on a period of renaissance, the papal had become enfeebled. Adrian IV., wounded to the heart, sent legates to Frederick to try what could be effected by negotiations. His exorbitant demands show that the Papacy had assumed the same attitude towards the empire as that adopted by the cities; it desired entire freedom from the imperial power in secular affairs, or the transference of the crown rights to itself. The Pope demanded that the bishops of Italy should merely take the oath of fidelity to the Emperor, but should be under no feudal obligations; except on the occasion of his coronation, the Emperor should not levy "foderum" on the State of the Church; the income from Matilda's estates and from all territory from Aquapendente to Rome, from Spoleto, Sardinia, and Corsica, from Ferrara and Massa was to be surrendered to the sacred chair; the Emperor

¹ The two letters are given in Sigebl., *Contin. Aquicinctin.*, ad A. 1157 (*Mon. Germ.*, viii. 408). That of the Pope is dated June 24, 1159, from Præneste. Even the superscription on Frederick's letter must have wounded him: *Frid. Dei Gr. Rom. Imp. Semper. Aug. Adriano Eccles. Catholica Summo Pontifici omnibus adherere, quæ cepit Jesus facere et docere*. Adrian even complained that the Emperor placed his own name, in letters, before that of the Pope, *in quo insolentia, ne dicam arrogantia notam incurris*.

was not to send any envoy to Rome without the Pope's consent, for the entire magistracy and every kind of regalia belonged to the holy chair alone. While Adrian thus endeavoured to exclude the imperial authority from the State of the Church, and demanded recognition of his complete territorial supremacy, the Emperor replied, "Since, by the will of God, I am, and call myself, Roman Emperor, I should only bear an unmeaning title did I allow the sovereignty over the city of Rome to pass out of my hands."¹

Ambassadors from the Senate were present during these negotiations; the Romans, seeing that the Emperor employed Arnold's arguments against the Pope, made approaches to him. In the spring of 1159 they sent messengers to effect a reconciliation, and Frederick having received them favourably in public, the Senate sent other distinguished men to the camp at Crema. The Romans, grown more modest, now begged for the imperial favour and an amnesty; they promised to restore the imperial power in Rome, and Frederick entered into negotiations with the commune. He now determined to recognise the Senate, but on conditions to be dictated by himself, and these conditions were the same as those already imposed on subjugated Milan. With the envoys (whom he loaded with presents) he also sent the Count Palatine Otto of Wittelsbach, Count

Reconciliation between the city of Rome and the Emperor, 1159.

¹ *Nam cum div. ordinatione ego Rom. Imp. et dicar et sim, speciem tantum dominantis effingo—si Urbis Roma de manu nostra potestas fuerit excussa. Popes and bishops asked: quid mihi et regi? and the Emperor: quid tibi et possessioni? Radev., ii. c. 30.*

Guido of Blandrate, the Provost Herbert of Aqui to Rome, where these nobles were instructed to come to terms respecting the restoration of the Senate and the recall of the exiled Prefect, and were, if possible, to conclude a concordat with the Pope.¹ The envoys were received with honour, but the demands of the Senate, which now assumed a commanding attitude, rendered a settlement impossible, and the death of the Pope raised a further obstacle.

Death of
Adrian IV.,
Sept. 1,
1159.

Adrian IV. died at Anagni on September 1, 1159, at open strife with the Emperor, in league with the Lombards against him, and debating the question of excommunicating Frederick. This priest who had risen from the dust confronted the mightiest of monarchs with so haughty an aspect, as were he not only this monarch's equal but his superior. His natural endowments were increased by the greatness to which his own merits had raised him, by knowledge of the world, and by a praiseworthy strength of character, which, in the midst of all his arrogance, enabled him to act with prudence at the critical time. Adrian was shrewd, practical, and unyielding, as Anglo-Saxons are wont to be. Like Gregory VII., he determined to realise the principle of papal supremacy;² but in the midst of his boldest dreams

¹ Frederick demanded the recall of the former Prefect of the city, who had been banished by the Romans as the enemy of Arnold of Brescia and the cause of his death. The Emperor did not, however, attain his desire. According to Joann. Saresber., opp. i. 63, ep. 59, in W. Ribbeck, *l. c.*, p. 62.

² The former beggar boy from England wrote to King Henry II. : *sane Hiberniam, et omnes insulas, quibus sol Justitia Christus illuxit—ad jus b. Petri et S.R.E.—non est dubium pertinere.* Mansi, xxi. 788.

he did not neglect his more immediate duties. He even refortified cities such as Orte and Radicofani; he acquired others, and the acts of the *Dominium Temporale* show how careful he was to preserve, or to found, patrimonies for the sacred chair, to weaken the dynasties on the Campagna and to make them serviceable to himself. The provincial nobility had been brought low by the wars with the emperors as well as with the civic communes; the barons had lost their influence in consequence of the democratic revolution and were impoverished and in debt. Many ceded their fortresses entirely or in part to Adrian, who then gave them back as fiefs of the Church, and thus noblemen became tributaries (*homines*) of the Pope. Adrian's activity in this respect was very great.¹ He had failed, however, to subdue the Roman republic. The Senate still existed on the Capitol, and instead of a complaisant Emperor, Frederick had become the violent enemy of the Pope. "O that I had never," an Englishman heard Adrian sigh, "left my native land, England, or the convent

¹ See the Acts of his Chamberlain Boso in Cardinal Aragon., p. 445, also in Albinus and Cencius. Oddo de Poli ceded all the fortresses of which the Church had been despoiled by him, back as fiefs to the Pope: Poli, Faustiniano, Anticuli, Rocca de Nibli, Monte Manno, Gadabiolo (Guadagnolo), Sarracinisco, Rocca de Muri, Castellus novus. We see of what accumulations of property the barons had already become possessed at this time (Cencius, fol. 107 of January 7, 1157; Murat., *Antiq.*, i. 676; Theiner, i. n. xxii.). There are similar treaties concerning Tusculum, and in *territorio Campanino*, the *Castrum Mons Scii Johis* (Monte S. Giovanni on the Liris), which was still held by Lombards of the house of Aquino; further Raiano, Sculgola, Corclanum, Orvieto. Of but few popes has Cencius preserved so many documents.

of S. Rufus. Is there elsewhere in the world a man so miserable as the pope? I have found so much hardship on the papal throne, that all the bitterness of my past life seems sweet in comparison. Is the elected pope as rich as a Cræsus to-day, on the morrow he is poor and oppressed with countless debts. Truly it is with justice that he is called Servant of the Servants; he is enslaved by the rapacity of the servile souls of the Romans, and does he fail to satisfy them, he is forced to leave his throne and Rome as a fugitive."¹ Such is the avowal of Adrian IV. concerning the Papacy of his time—the testimony of a sage of ripe experience who died in exile.

Rome preserves no monument of this vigorous foreigner beyond his coffin in the crypt of the Vatican; an ancient urn, which owes its preservation to the indestructibility of its material. This rude in-artistic sarcophagus of red granite fitly encloses the only English pope—a man whose nature was as firm and strong as the granite itself.

¹ Thus Adrian sighed to his celebrated countryman, John of Salisbury (*De Nugis Curialium*, viii. c. 23). *In incudine, inquit, et malleo semper dilatauit me Dominus.* Concerning the avarice of spiritual Rome, there was but one opinion in the world; *Roma Deus non est trinus, sed quattrinus.*

4. SCHISM BETWEEN VICTOR IV. AND ALEXANDER III.—THE COUNCIL AT PAVIA RECOGNISES VICTOR—COURAGEOUS RESISTANCE OF ALEXANDER III.—HE SAILS TO FRANCE—DESTRUCTION OF MILAN—DEATH OF VICTOR III., 1164—PASCHALIS III.—CHRISTIAN OF MAINZ—ALEXANDER III. RETURNS TO ROME—DEATH OF WILLIAM I.—THE GREEK EMPEROR—FREDERICK COMES AGAIN TO ITALY—LEAGUE OF THE LOMBARD CITIES—RAINALD OF COLOGNE ADVANCES TO THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF ROME.

A schism followed immediately on Adrian's death. The college of cardinals had long been divided into a hierarchical and an imperial faction, but the two parties had formed a compact in Anagni to vote for the same candidate. Nevertheless Adrian's adherents, headed by Boso, nephew of the Pope, had privately occupied the fortified palace beside S. Peter's, and had there held meetings.¹ At the same time the smaller German party was in eager communication with the imperial envoys, who were still in Rome, and acquired adherents in the Senate by means of gold.

The cardinals, the imperial envoys, the clergy, nobles, and populace, and also the Senators, who had undertaken the care of the cathedral, kept its doors closed and assembled for the election in S.

Schism in
the papal
election.

¹ The *Epist. Canonico. b. Petri pro parte Victoris* (Radev., ii. c. 66) thus represents the matter. Boso had seized the *munitione S. Petri* (the fortified Vatican) even in Adrian's lifetime. Roland himself says *munitione Ecclesie* (Letter to Genoa in Caffaro, *Annal. Gen.*, i. 274, and to Bologna, Radev., ii. c. 51).

Cardinal
Roland
(Alexander
III.) and
Cardinal
Octavian
(Victor
IV.).

Peter's. Three days passed without any understanding having been reached; when the stronger party on September 7 proclaimed the chancellor, Roland Bandinelli, a Siennese, as Pope. But scarcely had they time to clothe the reluctant candidate with the mantle, when Cardinal Octavian, head of the German party, tore the purple from his shoulders. An unwilling Senator, it is true, took the mantle from Octavian, but his chaplain ran and brought another, which the cardinal in his excitement threw on wrong side out.¹ The tumult was too great for the assembly to find time to laugh at the figure of a cardinal so anxious to assume the mantle. Troops, who were already prepared, pressed into S. Peter's, sword in hand. Octavian received the acclamations of his party; the inferior clergy, more especially the Chapter of S. Peter's, the populace, the majority of the Senators and many captains gave him their placet; the Te Deum was sung, and the cardinal, assuming the name of Victor IV., was forthwith led in procession to the Lateran.²

Roland and his followers meanwhile fled to the fortified Vatican. They were here kept for nine

¹ The chaplain of each cardinal probably brought with him the mantle destined for his master. The *immanfare* was the first symbol of elevation to the Papacy; and stress was laid upon the fact that the *Immantatio* of Octavian took place before that of Roland (Radev., ii. 71). The populace afterwards shouted to Octavian: *fili maledicte dismanfa! non eris Papa*. Roland's election manifesto (Radevich, ii. c. 51), transcribed by Card. Aragon. Alexander III. announces his election to the clergy of Paris, Terracina, beginning of October 1159 (in Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta Rom. Pont. inedita*, ii. n. 415).

² *Papa Victoris sancto Pietro Telegge* was thereupon shouted in Italian. Report of the Chapter of S. Peter.

whole days by the Senators, who had been bribed, and were then taken into still stricter custody in Trastevere. After three days they were released by Oddo Frangipane, who had long been the foremost vassal of the Church and an enemy of the republic. A counter movement took place; Roland was led, in procession through Rome, amid the ringing of bells and with the banners of the Church; then, accompanied by all the clergy who had taken his part, by many of the populace and nobles in arms, by the college of the judges and the School of Singers, he immediately withdrew to the Campagna. What strange movements on the part of the Romans, what curious spectacles are presented by the papal elections of the time!

At the foot of the Volscian Mountains and at the edge of the Pontine Marshes lies Ninfa, at that time a town of considerable importance, now a Christian Pompeii, with blackened walls, which, with a strong baronial tower and ruinous churches, still remain covered and choked by ivy. Here one of the mightiest of popes, the great opponent of the Emperor Barbarossa, was consecrated on September 20 as Alexander III. He repaired to Terracina, a town on the frontier of the Sicilian kingdom, whose sovereign had hastened to acknowledge him.¹

Alexander
III. conse-
crated at
Ninfa,
Sept. 20,
1159.

¹ He went by way of Cisterna, where, according to tradition, Nero had hidden himself. The Canons of S. Peter consequently said: *pervenerunt ad cisternam Neronis, in qua latuit Nero fugiens Romanos insequentes. Justo Cisternam adierunt, quia dereliquerunt fontem aquæ vivæ, et foderunt sibi cisternas.* The followers of Victor (in Radev., li. c. 52): *in castro—Cisterna, intra Ariciam et Terracinam, Rolandum Cancellarium immanaverunt.* Romuald, p. 200:

Octavian was for the time master of a great part of the city. This cardinal, a Crescentius of the house of the Counts of Monticelli, was a man of handsome presence and liberal disposition, and could reckon on numerous adherents in Rome. Peter, Prefect of the city, his own nephew, the Tebaldi and Stefani, some Gætani, Pierleoni, and other powerful nobles adhered to him.¹ The interests of the Senate also seemed to recommend a pope of German sympathies, and the Roman people never inquired who was the lawful pope, but only who was most lavish of his gold. The Romans desired Octavian, and the inferior clergy, who from Arnold's time had been at variance with the cardinals who upheld the ancient system, pronounced almost universally in his favour. On the other hand, among the higher clergy, the Bishop of Ferentino, Bishop Ymarus of

Nymphas venit, et ibi ab Ubaldo Ostiensi Ep.—solemniter consecratus, et postea Terracina venit. Roland himself speaks of Nínfa as the place where he was consecrated (Rad., i. c. 51).

¹ Witnesses for him at Pavia were: *Petrus U. Præf., Steph. de Tebaldo, Steph. Nortmannus, Johs de S. Stephano, Johs Cajetanus, Wolferaminus de Gidocica, Gimundus de domo Petrileonis* (Radev., ii. 67). Modern writers make Octavian a Tusculan. The Catalogue of the Popes in *Chron. Riccardi Clun.* (Mur., *Ant. It.*, iv. 1112) says, however, correctly: *Octav., natione Sabinenensis. Anon. Casinen., ad. A. 1159; Octavianus de Monticelio.* Otto was at this time Count of Monticelli in the Sabina. The family belonged to the Crescentii, and was related to the house of Palombani, from which Sigebr., *Auctar. Aquicinct.*, A. 1158, seems to trace Octavian's descent; it was also related to the Prefect of Vico. Angeloni (*Hist. de Terni*, Rome, 1646) professes to know from a document that Frederick I. bestowed Terni in fief upon Octavian in 1162, and says that Octavian's brothers, Otto, Goffred, and Soliman, are mentioned in the deed. Since the author does not give the document in print, I must give the statement for what it is worth.

Tusculum, who had abjured Roland, the Abbot of Subiaco and four cardinals, of whom Guido of Crema and John had been the main instruments of his elevation, were alone in his favour.¹ The Count Palatine Otto and Guido of Blandrate had also taken part in his election. Under the protection of the two latter, Octavian left the tumultuous city. He was consecrated as Victor IV. on October 4 at Farfa by the Bishop of Tusculum.² He thence proceeded to Segni in the Volscian Mountains, and thus the two popes stood facing one another in the Campagna; since Anagni, where Alexander III. had taken up his abode, can be clearly descried from the valley where Segni lies.

Victor IV.
consecrated in
Farfa, Oct.
4, 1159.

There was no doubt as to which of the two pretenders would obtain the Emperor's recognition: Roland, the zealous champion of papal absolutism,

¹ Letter of Victor's party in Radev., ii. 52. Roland received the most votes; his party claimed to number fourteen cardinals, and allowed only two (Guido and John) to the opposition; two of Victor's party were absent. The latter, however, claimed to have given nine votes. There should have been not more than twenty or twenty-two cardinals in Rome. Letters in Pertz, *Leges*, ii. Letter of the Rolandists, Theiner, *Disquisit. critica*, n. xxiii. Almost all the churches in Rome acknowledged Octavian. Signatories of the Acts of the Council of Pavia (Mansi, xxi. 1113); among them also *Magister fratrum templi Hierosolymitani in Monte Aventino cum suis fratribus obedivit*. At this time this order already possessed its dwelling on the Aventine.

² The *Decretum Ottonis Comitis Palatini pro congruis alimentis præstandis a Rustico abbate Farfensi, &c.*, issued at Farfa in 1159 (at the end of the *Chronicle*), belongs to this period; it is signed by *Petrus Pref. Urbis, Jonathas Comes Tusculanus, Otto C. Monticellensis, Octavianus C. Palumbaria, Rainerius C. Tyberinus, Stephan. Tebaldi, Raynerius et Gentilis illustres*. We learn from this which of the Roman landgraves were of imperial sympathies. The old Count of Tivoli could scarcely have still retained power.

The
imperial
Synod at
Pavia
ratifies the
election of
Victor IV.,
Feb. 11,
1160.

the imperious cardinal-legate whom the Count Palatine Otto had desired to overthrow, or Octavian the former rival of Adrian IV. Both appealed to the Christian world, and Frederick seized the opportunity to come forward as advocate of the Church. In a letter from the camp at Crema, he commanded "Cardinal Roland" to appear in person before a Council which he summoned in Pavia. The example of both ancient and recent emperors afforded him a precedent for the right of convoking such a Council. Alexander III., who had already been excommunicated by Octavian, regarded himself as lawful Pope, and rejected the summons as uncanonical. The Council assembled in February 1160, a short time after heroic Crema had been crushed by Frederick. Octavian arrived, assured of victory. Many witnesses, more especially the Chapter of the cathedral of S. Peter, and the greater part of both spiritual and secular Rome, declared in his favour, and the Synod, which was entirely under the imperial influence, decided on February 11 that Victor IV. was lawful Pope. The Emperor consequently immediately did public homage to him. Roland was excommunicated as a conspirator against the empire and a schismatic, and the close alliance which existed between his party, Sicily, Milan, Brescia and Piacenza was easily proved.¹

Courageous as Gregory VII., Alexander III. entered into war with a formidable opponent. The

¹ Adrian IV. had already formed an alliance with the Lombards in Anagni: Sir Raul, *De Rebus gestis Friderici*, p. 1183. C.—*Epistola Concilii (Papiensis)* to Christendom, in Watterich, ii. 483.

quarrel concerned the independence of the Church, which Frederick desired to bend to the Councils of his bishops and under the imperial yoke. The acquisitions of Gregory and Calixtus were at stake. In this, the second great conflict of the Papacy with the empire, many of the old features were repeated, even those which concerned the city of Rome, although they assumed an entirely new form. But if Gregory VII. had found his allies in religious fanaticism, in the rebellion of the Patarines, in the influence of a religious woman and the policy of a usurper, the Papacy now found them in the freedom which had been fought for by courageous cities.

Alexander thundered the excommunication against the Emperor from the cathedral of Anagni on Holy Thursday, March 2. True, the excommunication now signified nothing more than a declaration of war. He sent legates to the kings of Christendom, in the hope that some, fearing the greatness of Frederick's power, might recognise himself—a hope in which he was not deceived. He exhorted the Lombards to resistance, but his attitude towards the republics was invariably characterised by shrewdness and foresight. Fortunately for him, the Emperor was engaged in furious warfare with Milan. While Victor IV. accompanied Frederick's court, Alexander III. succeeded with the aid of Sicily in conquering Latium; his adherents waxed stronger even in fickle Rome, since the anti-pope did not enter the city.¹ The newly-elected Senators declared in

Alexander III. excommunicates the Emperor in Anagni, March 2, 1160.

¹ *Chron. Fossæ Novæ*, ad A. 1160: *Hic venit Anagninam, et acquisivit totam Campaniam.* The letter of the Rolandists (in Theiner)

his favour, the Frangipani succeeded in adjusting matters so that he was enabled to come to Rome in June 1161, and here he consecrated S. Maria Nova, beside the fortresses of the Frangipani family at the Arch of Titus. He left the insecure city, however, in about a fortnight, to seek refuge again in Præneste or Ferentino.¹

Frederick's power crushed the hopes of Alexander, and Victor IV. was able to hold a numerously attended Council at Lodi on June 19, where five Roman Senators were present.² Alexander, finding himself abandoned by almost the entire State of the Church, had no choice but exile.³ He took ship on board a Sicilian galley at the Cape of Circe about

says that Octavian had bribed the former Senators with 200 pounds, but that the newly-elected Senators forced them to deposit this money in the Capitol, *in Capitolium deportata, et qualiter de communi voce populi muri urbis exinde repariantur.*

¹ He came to the city on June 6, on the 27th he was back at Præneste. Mansi, xxi. 1036: Letter of Alexander to Henry of Grado: *nos—VIII. Id. Junii Urbem tenuisse, et a clero et pop. Rom. apud eccl. S. M. Novæ—fuisse receptos*: on the following Sunday he quietly read Mass in the Lateran: *data Romæ apud S. M. Novam XVIII. Kal. Junii.* Card. Aragon., p. 451: *Quia vero diutius ibidem propter magnam schismaticor. seditionem quiete non potuit remanere, precibus P. Romani seductus, ad partes Campanie remeavit.*

² The *Annals of Erfurt* (*Mon. Germ.*, xvi.): *de Urbe quinque Senatores missi a Romanis erant.*

³ *Cum omne patrimon. S. Petri—ab Aquapendente usque ad Ceperanum* (confines of the State of the Church) *per Imper. et schismaticos occupatum vidisset*: Card. Aragon., p. 451. Frederick himself says: *Hollandus—propter fideles nostros circa Romam non habet—ubi caput suum reclinat*, on which account he had escaped; he also says that he was deep in debt. Goldast, *Constit. Imp.*, i. 279.

Christmas, reached Genoa on January 21, 1162, and went, like his predecessors, to claim the hospitality of France.

Alexander III. goes as an exile to France, 1162.

While he there received the homage of the great nobles, Frederick celebrated his terrible triumphs in Lombardy. On March 26 he entered conquered Milan, which he ordered to be razed to the ground; the burghers of Italian cities fell at his nod in exulting revenge on the glorious sacrifice, at whose fall Italy trembled. Rome also was terrified; the city recognised the imperial pope; but Frederick, who advanced as far as Bologna in June, marched by way of Turin to Burgundy in August, leaving behind him a devastated country, which knew no more sacred duty than that of shaking off the yoke of a foreign despot. In conformity with a treaty with Lewis VII., he determined to hold a Council at Besançon, where both popes were to appear and receive their sentence. Alexander's arts, however, and other circumstances intervened to prevent this. Without having attained his object, the Emperor was obliged to return to Germany, and since no respect was there paid to Victor, Frederick soon sent him back to Italy, and with him Rainald, Archbishop-elect of Cologne, as his vicar. This great man, since 1156 Chancellor of the Empire, was inspired by different principles from those with which Wibald had formerly been imbued; he was more imperial than the Emperor, and filled with enthusiasm for the empire of the German nation, to which he wished to render the Papacy again subject. The keen intellect and the vigorous energy of this mail-clad archbishop and minister of

the empire corresponded entirely to Barbarossa's ideas.¹

While Alexander, secure of the recognition of France and England, lived chiefly at Sens, Rome was ruled in peace by the Senate. The acts of this body, "appointed by the venerable and illustrious people of the Romans on the Capitol," no longer took any thought of Pope Alexander, and the judicial documents of the time were dated with the year of Victor IV.'s pontificate.² This pope meanwhile died on April 20, 1164, at Lucca, when Rainald immediately caused Guido of Crema to be elected as Paschalis III. by the schismatic cardinals. Frederick, at the time at Pavia, at once gave his sanction to his chancellor's despotic act.³ But neither could Paschalis make himself master of Rome. The magnificent Octavian, a Roman of noble birth, had probably numerous adherents, but Guido could command no party. On the contrary, a sudden revulsion took place in Alexander's favour, the Romans now realising the loss of all the advantages offered by the presence of the papal curia, and the civic government changed its views with its magistrates. Fortune, it is true, seemed favourable to

Paschalis
III. anti-
pope,
1164;
dwells in
Viterbo.

¹ J. Ficker: *Rainald von Dassel, Reichskanzler und Erzb. von Köln*, 1156-1167, Cologne, 1850.

² A. 1162: *Nos Senatores pro justitia cuique tribuenda a reverendo atque magnifico populo Romano in Capitolio constituti* (Galletti, *Del Prim.*, n. lxi.). On October 14, 1162, there is the date: *Anno V. Pontif. Domini Victoris IV. pape* (Galletti, n. lxii.).

³ I note that Frederick gave a charter to Gubbio on November 8, 1163. *Dat. VI. id. Nov. A.D. J. MCLXIII. Ind. XII.—Act. Laud. in d. n. fel. Am.—Ego Rainald, &c.* The original no longer exists among the Archives of Gubbio.

Paschalis in the spring of 1165, but only to deceive him. He had taken up his abode in Viterbo. This town was, according to the Emperor's plan, the basis of all operations against Rome, and after the decrees passed at Würzburg at Whitsuntide 1165, the question was no longer one of half measures; on the contrary, his object from henceforth was the subjugation of the Papacy to the imperial rule. Christian of Mainz and Count Gotelin marched into Latium, and harassed the Romans so severely that the latter purchased a truce and announced themselves willing to recognise Paschalis III., provided Alexander, whom they had invited to return, did not respond to their invitation. Christian's army sacked Anagni, but returned to Tuscany, when Sicilian and Roman troops occupied Latium for a time.¹

Meanwhile Cardinal John, Alexander's new vicar in Rome, had worked adroitly in the interests of the Pope, and had succeeded in bribing the Romans, angry at the ruin Frederick had inflicted on the cities and at the ravages committed by Christian's troops. John had even succeeded in influencing the new senatorial election; he had gained possession of S. Peter's and had finally brought the Sabina into allegiance to the Pope.² Rome was almost unanimous in favour of Alexander, and swore fealty to him

Rome inclines in favour of Alexander III.

¹ Rome was reduced to severe straits by Christian; Letter 33 of John of Salisbury to S. Thomas (Edition of Lupus, Oper., t. x. 81). These events belong to the year 1165. The *Chronicle of Fossa Nov.* relates these events under *Indict. XIV.* Sigeb. (*Cont. Aquicinct.*) speaks of them in the year 1165.

² Card. Aragon., p. 456—*pecunia non modica mediante—et Senatum iuxta voluntatem et arbitrium ejus innovando constituit.*

Return to
Rome of
Alexander
III., Nov.
23, 1165.

before his vicar. Messengers had already hurried to France to summon him back, and Alexander had put to sea in August 1165 at Maguelonne. His galleys fortunately escaped both the corsairs and the Pisans and brought him to friendly Messina, whence King William had him conducted to Rome by Salerno. He reached the mouth of the Tiber on the festival of S. Cecilia, and, accompanied by the Senate, made his solemn entry into the Lateran on November 23, 1165. Contradictory displays of fierce hatred and glad welcome such as this have been experienced in Rome by the popes down to our own days.¹

The position of the Pope, who was laden with debts, nevertheless remained sufficiently sad; the alms and loans which he had collected in France, more particularly from the Archbishop of Rheims, scarcely sufficed to maintain him in Rome, among a people, who, as he himself said, even in peace looked only to the hands of the pope.² The death of William I. in May 1166, and the accession of his son William (still in his minority), made him doubtful of the protection of Sicily, except that he still received money from the island.³ A new ally who

¹ *Acta sunt hæc A.D. Inc. MCLXV. Ind. XIII. IX. Kal. Dec. Pontif. vero ipsius Papa an. VI.* So the Acts in Card. Aragon., p. 457. Romuald, p. 205, agrees with this statement: Alexander gives the same date in his letter to Henry of Rheims, *Lateran VIII. Kal. Dec.* (Nov. 24); Mansi, xxi. 1042.

² To the Archbishop of Rheims (Ep. 96 in Martene, ii. 721). He laments: *tanta namque sunt onera debitor. et creditor. instantia, ut nisi ecclesia dei a tua fuerit modo liberalitate subventum, vix aut numquam nobis statum urbis in ea pace, in qua nunc est, poterimus conservare.* See also Ep. 109 of the Pope to the same archbishop.

³ Ep. 140 of John of Salisbury says that William, when dying,

presented himself was suspicious; the Emperor Manuel, at enmity with Frederick, offered to form an alliance with the Pope. Like so many Greek monarchs, he hoped to make use of the schism to restore his dominion in Italy, where he had already gained a firm footing at Ancona. He held the prospect of the union between the two Churches before the eyes of the Pope, promised to reduce the city and Italy to submission, and desired in return the Roman crown. Alexander received the imperial envoy, Sebastos Jordan, son of the unfortunate Robert of Capua, with respect. But if he let it be supposed that he intended to respond to the wishes of Comnenus, and if he sent his legates to Constantinople, he only did so to frighten Frederick, and in any case to hold himself open to form an alliance with the Greeks.

The Greek Emperor offers himself to the Pope as an ally.

The city of Rome had recalled the Pope, whose territorial supremacy it recognised; but it nevertheless remained a free and independent republic. Its constitution had a beneficial influence on the development of its civic relations, and its civic militia procured it respect. A memorable document belonging to exactly this time has been preserved, which shows the Roman commune a respected free state. The Romans formed a treaty with the Genoese in November 1165, by which they accorded the Genoese republic free commerce throughout their entire territory from Terracina to Corneto, the Genoese ceding them the like privileges in return. Rome's plenipo-

sent the Pope 40,000 pounds sterling, and that his son sent the same sum (Lupus, Op., l. x. 150).

tentiaries were Cencius, son of Obicio Pierleone, Scriniar of the Church, and Gerardus Alexii. The two nobles represented the merchants and sailors as their consuls.¹ And precisely because the contract was of the highest importance for these guilds was its settlement left in the hands of its consuls. They undertook that all vice-comites in the harbours of Terracina, Astura, Ostia, Portus, Sancta Severa and Civita Vecchia should see to the fulfilment of the articles of the agreement. They promised safety to the Genoese vessels in case of war between their republic and Pisa, and even promised to provide for the rescue of cargo and crew in case of shipwreck. The treaty of defence was to last for twenty-nine years without prejudice to relations of fealty to either Pope or Emperor. After it had been sworn to by the consuls of both sides in Genoa, it was ratified by the Senate in Rome. Hence it follows that not the Pope but the commune on the Capitol held rule over the entire coast of the Roman territory, and that to the commune the viscounts and bailiffs of the harbours yielded obedience.²

¹ The instrument begins: *nos consules mercatorum et marinariorum urbis*—Cencius then calls himself *s. r. e. scriniarius nec non mercatorum et marinariorum urbis consul*. Either the *mercat*, and *marinarii* formed at this time a joint guild, or else each of the two plenipotentiaries acted as such for both guilds at once.

² The instrum. in *Mon. Hist. patr. Chartar.*, ii. 997. It is a transcript by Cencius *mandato consulum mercator. et marinariorum urbis . . . rome a. d. inc. 1166, Ind. XIV. M. Aprili*. The treaty was concluded in Genoa on November 23, *Ind. XIV.* (Roman style). Wüstenfeld (*Iter. Ital.* of Pflugk-Hartung, ii. 539) observes that a deed still exists in the Archives of Genoa, where the same articles are ratified by the *senatores Urbis: Dat. Rome in concione publica 1166,*

Frederick returned as early as November 1166 to Italy, where the towns, which he had so imprudently enslaved, now formed a permanent league. The Emperor did not as yet suspect the formidable power that was growing up against him. His project was to drive the Greeks from Ancona, the Pope from Rome, to install Paschalis III. in S. Peter's, to end everything by a master-stroke, and to fetter the whole of Italy. While he left Lodi in the beginning of January 1167, with the intention of first conquering Ancona, and then marching on Rome, Rainald of Cologne with a smaller force was to open a way for Paschalis III. from Tuscany. Rainald advanced to the neighbourhood of Rome and almost all the fortresses renounced their allegiance to Alexander. The Pope exhausted exhortations and treasures in order to retain the populace, who accepted gold from both sides.¹ The majority of the Romans held to Alexander, one of the motives for their allegiance being their childish hatred of the smaller towns in the neighbourhood, such as Albano, Tivoli, and Tusculum, which, refusing to recognise the authority of the Senate, allied themselves with the imperialists. A catastrophe consequently followed.

Frederick
I. in Italy,
Nov. 1166.

per mon. Johis cancellarii sacri et rever. urbis urbium senatus, sicut prius per suprascr. nobiles et sapientes Urbis legatos et per optimos consules communitalis Janue firmata fuere in publica concione Janne, sicut in eor. scripto in archivio Capitolii signato apparet, scil. 1165, Nov. 23, secund. Januenses. Cencius himself calls himself the son of Obitio. See these names in the document of May 29, 1153 (vol. iv.).

¹ Card. Arag., p. 457.

5. TUSCULUM—DECAY OF THE COUNTS OF THIS HOUSE—
 RAINALD OF COLOGNE ENTERS TUSCULUM—HE IS
 BESIEGED BY THE ROMANS—CHRISTIAN OF MAINZ
 COMES TO HIS RELIEF—BATTLE OF MONTE PORZIO—
 TERRIBLE DEFEAT OF THE ROMANS — FREDERICK
 BESIEGES THE LEONINA—ATTACK ON S. PETER'S—
 NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ROMANS—ALEXANDER III.
 ESCAPES TO BENEVENTO—PEACE BETWEEN THE EM-
 PEROR AND THE ROMAN REPUBLIC — FREDERICK'S
 ARMY IS DESTROYED BY PESTILENCE—HIS DEPARTURE
 FROM ROME. .

Decay of
the house
of Tus-
culum.

Raino, son of Ptolemy II., who had died in 1153, was now lord of Tusculum.¹ The Tusculan house already neared its fall; divisions of property, debts, feuds, and the Roman commune had combined to reduce this powerful family. Tusculum no longer remained in the hands of one master. In the time of Eugenius III., Oddo Colonna had mortgaged his share to Oddo Frangipane, Eugenius had bought the mortgage, and the popes thus acquired rights over a fortress which had long tyrannised over the sacred chair. Adrian IV. had given the papal share in fief to Jonathan, the elder son of Ptolemy II., and had thus made Jonathan his vassal.² But the Senate

¹ Documents show first Jonathan and then Rayno as lords of Tusculum. In Cencius we find Jonathan in 1155; and again in 1159 he signs the decree of Otto, Count Palatine in Farfa; in 1163 the Abbot of S. Alessio invests him with Astura (Nerini, n. xiii.); in 1167 only Rayno is called Count of Tusculum; and in 1171 it is Rayno who cedes Tusculum to the Pope. It follows that Jonathan had died before 1167.

² The treaties concerning Tusculum, taken from Cencius, are given by Muratori, *Ant. It.*, iii. 777. That with Oddo de Columpna

was unwilling that the Church should appear as protectress of the fortress which had refused obedience to the city, and it was in vain that Alexander III. had exhorted it to refrain from attacking Tusculum. Raino, harassed by the Romans, summoned the imperialists. The Chancellor Rainald, who, with the help of the Pisans, had conquered Civita Vecchia on May 18, now advanced with his vassals of Cologne to Tusculum, where he was besieged by the Romans. The whole war was thus attracted to Rome.¹

Rainald of Cologne advances to Tusculum.

The city militia, and all the vassals in Etruria or Latium who remained faithful to the Senate or Pope, were summoned to rise in arms; and citizens and captains were united for the first time. Rainald and Raino sent to request help from the camp at Ancona,

is dated December 10, 1151. On December 28, 1152, Oddo Frangipane signs a receipt for thirty pounds paid by the Pope as security. On July 9, 1155, *Jonathas fil. quond. Ptolemei de Tusculana* swears fidelity to the Pope *excepto contra Imperatorem—hanc fidelitatem facio quia dedistis mihi in feudum totam partem vestram supradicte civitatis Tusculanae*. He surrendered as security to the Pope Montisfortini and Faiola *usque in terminum duor. annor. incipiendor. postquam vera pax fuerit facta inter vos et Romanos* (Cencius, fol. cxii.).

¹ These facts are related by Marangone under *Ind. XV*. Petrus Latro lay in Civita Vecchia with forty Romans; they were taken prisoners. Raynald's letter to the people of Cologne and Duke Henry of Limburg gives the best explanation of the circumstances: *nos cum sola nostra et d. cancellarii Philippi militia Tusculaniensi ingressi sumus, ne civitas illa, imperio summe necessaria, perderetur* (Sudendorf, *Regist.*, n. lxii.). Romuald (p. 208) besides Rainald also mentions the exiled Andrew of Rupe Canina. See also Otto de S. Blasio, c. 20. That Rayno summoned the imperialists is stated only by Card. Aragon.

Christian
of Mainz
comes to
his relief.

and Christian of Mainz collected 1300 German and Brabantine mercenaries and hastened to the relief of his friend.¹ Christian, a count of Buch, whom the Emperor had made Archbishop of Mainz in place of Conrad of Wittelsbach in 1165, was one of Frederick's best generals. He prudently encamped beside Monte Porzio in the neighbourhood of Tusculum, to allow his soldiers a day's rest, and sent envoys to the Romans; they replied with scorn, advanced with all their troops and attacked the enemy on Whitsun-Monday with a force estimated at 40,000 strong. No chronicler informs us who was the leader of the greatest army which Rome had sent into the field for centuries; it may possibly have been Oddo Frangipane, the most esteemed noble of the city at the period. Although their numbers, compared with those of the Romans, were as 1 to 20, the Germans did not despair; the battle song beginning "Christ, thou who wast born," encouraged their insignificant forces; Christian unfolded the imperial banner, and the unequal contest began. The Brabantines were speedily repulsed, but the troops from Cologne, a closely serried body of cavalry, issued from Tusculum at the right time. One of Christian's companies assailed the enemy on the flank, an overpowering

¹ Otto de S. Blasio reckons 500 *milites* et 800 *Casarianos*, and 300 men in Tusculum. Acerbus Morena heard from fellow-combatants that the entire German force did not amount to 1000 cavalry. He says that Robert of Bassavilla (exiled from Apulia) and the Count of the Marsi were with Christian, *et Brasibensones, qui erant fortissimi* (p. 1143 *seq.*). According to Sigb. (*Auctar. Aquicinct.*), Alexander, Bishop of Liège, was also present. The *Annal. Coloniens. Maximi* (*Mon. Germ.*, xvii. 766) give Christian only 500 men.

charge divided the Roman ranks in the centre; the cavalry fled, the infantry dispersed, and the Brabantines fell upon the Roman camp. The swords of the pursuers mowed down the fugitives; scarcely a third reached the terrified city, whose strong walls and the approach of night alone forced the pursuers to desist. The fields and roads were covered with weapons and corpses; thousands were taken prisoners to Viterbo, among them a son of Oddo Frangipane, for whom his father in vain offered a large ransom. This memorable battle was fought between Monte Porzio and Tusculum on May 29, 1167.¹

Severe
defeat of
the
Romans at
Monte
Porzio,
May 29,
1167.

The victors over such overwhelming odds in the Pope's very presence were, curiously enough, two German archbishops, men ennobled by birth, by intellectual gifts, and courage. Their small force numbered some of the most valiant soldiers in the

¹ Sicard (*Chron.*, p. 599, note 18): *Theotonicis—apud Montem Portum invadunt.* Gottfried (*De Gestis F.*, p. 41): *in Monte de Porcu.* *Chron. Ursberg.*, p. 224: *apud Montem Porcum.* Villani: *Monte del Porco.* The day, 4 *Kal. Junii, dies luna Pentecostis*, or *Feria 2*, is confirmed by Rainald's letter, by Marangone, and by the marginal notes of the *Cod. Fars. Vatican.* 6808, the *Acta Pontif.* in Cencius, the *Annals* of Erfurt, Magdeburg, &c. The Romans marched out on Whitsunday. The Magdeburg *Annals* mention as taken prisoner *filium cujusd. Ottonis Frangepanis quem multis pecuniis redimere volentibus non reddiderunt.* Rainald writes: *Romani miserabiles a Tusculano usque Romam per omnes vias, tanta strage jugulati sunt, ut occisor. num. supra IX. astimetur millia.* He and the Archbishop of Mainz had alone made 5000 prisoners; the Romans themselves had said: *de XXX. millibus vix duo m. in urbem rediisse.* The imperialists (such as Otto de S. Blasio and Sigh., *Auct. Aquicinct.*) exaggerate the number of dead to 15,000. The more accurate estimates of the Italians vary between 6000 and 2000.

world, who had learnt the arts of war in Lombardy. The Romans, only accustomed to fight behind walls, or to effect surprises, lost the first battle which, as an armed test of their newly-founded power, they risked in the open field. The thought of their great forefathers, whose republic on the Capitol they claimed to have restored, must have made them blush for shame.¹ Legends of their defeat survived in tradition, but in Rome not a single stone recalls the fatal day which may be called the Cannæ of the Middle Ages.²

The consternation was indeed as great as in olden days after Hannibal's victory. Old men and matrons wailed in the streets, or lamenting awaited the procession of the dead whose burial was permitted by the enemy. The Pope wept for grief, and in distrust sought shelter with the Frangipani at the Colosseum ; he took measures, however, to provide for guarding the walls and to procure reinforcements of troops.

¹ The Card. Aragon. : *Popul. Rom. irrecoverabiliter cecruit, et per campestria ita impie contritus est, quod de tanto agmine tertia vix pars evasit.* Gottfried, *De Gestis Frid.* :—

*Roma cadit fugiens, cecidit pars magna Senatus . . .
Milia bis bina per prata jacent resupina,
Pluraque captiva retinent in carcere viva.*

² *Ab eo temp., quo Annibal Romanos apud Cannas devicit, tantam Romanor. stragem nullus recolit extitisse :* Card. Aragon. Villani has a legend that the battle was lost through the treachery of the soldiery of Cologne, who were consequently banished from Rome. Mattei (*Memorie—di Tuscolo*) invents the names of the Roman leaders. That the dead were buried in S. Lorenzo, S. Sebastian, and S. Stefano is probable. Sicard (p. 599) says : *quorum multi apud S. Stephanum (on the Via Latina) sepulti sunt, et habent hoc epitaphium : Mille decem decies et sex decies quoque seni.*

The Germans, already encamped outside the city, were strengthened by levies from the cities of the Campagna. It seemed as if the days of Manlius Torquatus had returned, when Hernici and Æqui, Latins and Volscians, advanced against Rome or encamped on Algidus. The same ancient cities, Tibur, Alba, Tusculum and others, again attacked Rome, now become childish in her old age. These little towns hoped to fall on the humiliated city, as Pavia and Cremona had fallen upon Milan. Christian The Emperor Frederick encamps before Rome, July 24, 1167. urged the Emperor to come and complete the fall of Rome, and Frederick, who had concluded a capitulation with Ancona, was able to plant his imperial eagle on Monte Mario on July 24.¹

Alexander III. found himself in the position of Gregory VII., but without hope of relief; since a Sicilian army which the regent had sent against Frederick had been defeated. The Romans, however, defended Alexander as they had defended Gregory, or rather Alexander stood under their protection as long as neither necessity nor advantage compelled them to treat with the Emperor. An attack on the The Emperor attacks the Leonina, Porta Viridaria opened the Leonina to Frederick; it contained, however, no Romans but only the papal retainers who still held S. Peter's. The cathedral was surrounded with entrenchments; its atrium and the tower of S. Maria in Turri over the chief staircase were fortified; catapults stood on its roof.

¹ Card. Aragon. notes Frederick's arrival on July 19; Morena, an eye-witness, more definitely: *in die luna, qua fuit IX. die ante Calendas Aug. de Ind. XV. in Monte Gaudio—castrametatus est. Marangone, XI. Kal. Aug.*

Since S. Angelo, separated by its lateral walls from the Leonina, served as *tête-de-pont* to the city, it was no longer used; the actual citadel, S. Peter's, answering the purpose in its stead.

and
S. Peter's.

The Mecca of Christendom held out against the attack of the German Arnoldists and the militia of Viterbo for eight days. Walls, towers, the portico which Innocent II. had restored fell, the entire Borgo sank to ruin; the cathedral alone resisted: fire was thrown into the atrium, S. Maria in Turri went up in flames, and an eye-witness lamented the destruction of a splendid mosaic which adorned the wall over the atrium, while the people of Viterbo removed the bronze doors to serve at home as a memento of their victory.¹ Their conduct was in accordance with the custom of the time; and the same insolent Viterbese soon after conquered Corneto and thence also carried away one of the city gates.² When it seemed as if S. Peter's itself would perish by fire, the garrison laid down their arms. Frederick of Rotenburg, son of the Emperor Conrad, and the handsomest knight in the army, ordered the doors

¹ The donation of Constantine was recorded on these doors. Mallius, *Description of S. Peter*, n. 160 (about 1180): *Argenteis literis (sicut sapissime legimus) adnotata fuere, vid. Perusium, Fesula, Clusium, Bulsinum, Assisium, &c.* A. Morena, p. 1149: *exarsa est—mirabilis imago—in muro ipsius Eccl. versus ocl. S. Petri supra atrium ipsius Eccl. S. Petri, ex auro splendidissimo decorata, cujus similis in Italia nunquam fuit amplius visa*—it represented Christ and Peter. Morena calls S. Maria in Turri also *de Laborario*. Several chroniclers speak of the fire, and *Chron. Magni Presbyteri* (*Mon. Germ.*, xviii. 489) throws the blame on the rabble in the Emperor's army.

² *Cronache di Viterbo*, ed. Ciampi, p. 6.

of the cathedral to be cut down with axes during the assault. The blood of the slain stained the desecrated altars, and on the artistic pavement of the temple the mail-clad bodies of the slain lay as on a field of battle.¹ Can we call the Moslems of the ninth century godless when 300 years later the Emperor of Christendom and his mail-clad bishops appeared as conquerors in the same basilica? The cathedral was stormed on Saturday, July 29, and scarcely had the blood been removed when the *Te Deum*—a song of derision rather than a prayer—resounded through its aisles. For on the following day the Emperor installed his pope, who had come from Viterbo, as Henry IV. had done after the conquest of the Leonina. And now again the Emperor wore the gold fillet of the Patricius—in sign of protest both against the Romans and the Pope. On August 1 he caused his wife Beatrix to be crowned as Empress by Paschalis III., and himself appeared wearing the crown.²

The imperial party among the Romans rallied round him, but his success remained confined to the

¹ *Infesta signa usque ad altare ferentes, occisione multorum polluerunt* (Otto de S. Blasio, c. 20). *Et replevit adem interfectis*: Helmold, *Chron. Slavor.*, ii. c. 10.

² According to Acerb. Morena, the cathedral was taken on Saturday, since he places August 1 on Tuesday. The privilege (*apud S. Petrum*), which Frederick gave to Rainald as reward, is dated Sunday, July 30; he presents him with the revenues of Andernach *quia deo auctore, Romanis per invictam ejus et illustris Coloniensis eccl. militis virtutem gloriosissime superatis, sacratiss. nostrum imper. inexplacabiliter est exaltatum* (Böhmer, n. 2526). Rainald, who was thus endowed, died in the course of a few days.

Leonina.¹ The Romans, still angry at their defeat, bravely defended their city and now proved more formidable than on the field of Tusculum. Alexander III. meanwhile remained, full of anxiety, in the towers of the Frangipani beside the Arch of Titus ; two Sicilian galleys came as far as S. Paul's and lay at his disposal in case he wished to escape ; he divided the money which they brought among the Frangipani, the Pierleoni, and the guards at the gates, but sent back the vessels themselves. The Romans still held out manfully, but neither Romans nor Pope dared refuse the offer of negotiations. The Count Palatine, Conrad of Wittelsbach, a relative of Frederick and Archbishop of Mainz, was now in the city. He had come to Rome with Alexander III. in 1165, and the irritated Emperor had transferred his archiepiscopal dignity to Christian of Buch.² The Pope had made him Cardinal-bishop of the Sabina, and now sent him as mediator to Frederick's camp. Like Henry IV., Frederick strove to gain the Romans to his side, representing the Pope as the sole hindrance to peace. He proposed to Conrad that both popes should abdicate and a third

¹ *Index pref. urbis. Comes Reino de Anguillari. Reino tusculan. Godefridus de Montecelio. Oddo de Columpna* signed the above-named privilegium as Frederick's courtiers.

² Cornelius Will, *Conrad von Wittelsbach*, Regensburg, 1880. He was son of Otto, Count Palatine, and brother of the celebrated first Duke Otto of Bavaria of the house of Wittelsbach. The two brothers had accompanied the Emperor to Italy in 1163, Conrad as bishop-elect of Mainz. After the election of Paschalis III., Conrad went over decidedly to the side of Alexander, whom he secretly joined in France after the Diet of Würzburg.

be canonically elected; he would then restore peace to the Church and make good their losses to the Romans. Alexander and his cardinals naturally declined these proposals, which were, however, accepted by the Romans. In order to save his sheep, they said, the pope is bound to make still greater sacrifices than that of the tiara. A popular tumult arose; the people called on the Pope to abdicate; he vanished from the city. Three days after he was seen at the Cape of Circe, dressed as a pilgrim, and sitting beside a spring to share a fugitive's meal with his companions. The spring was henceforward called the Pope's fountain. Alexander resumed the purple at Terracina and went to Benevento, where he arrived in August.

Alexander
III. escapes
from Rome.

His flight destroyed the Emperor's hopes of a compromise with the Church, but facilitated the prospect of a peace with the city. Frederick scored a decisive victory; for the same Romans who had so long defended Alexander III. had now driven him from Rome.¹ The Pisans had entered the Tiber with eight galleys; they destroyed the country houses on the banks, and one of their vessels even pushed as far as the Ripa Romea.² The Romans lost courage, and Frederick, who could do but little at this time of year and dared not hope to conquer the fortresses of the nobles, even should the city open her gates, was inclined to reasonable terms. His

¹ Reuter, *Gesch. Alex. III.*, Leipzig, 1860, ii. 262.

² *Una galea—usque ad romeam ripam prope pontem cum vexillis multis erectis applicuit*: Marangone. The *ripa romea* is the present *Ripa grande*.

Treaty between the Emperor and Rome.

envoys, among them the historian Acerbus Morena of Lodi made peace with Rome on the following terms. The Senate and people swore fidelity to the Emperor and the defence of the Roman crown-rights both within and without the city; the Emperor recognised the Senate in its existing power, but as invested with this power by himself; by a golden bull he confirmed the validity of the testaments of the Romans, as also of every kind of lease, and finally granted them exemption from all tributes and taxes.¹ It thus took bloody wars to attain concessions which Frederick ought to have granted at his coronation; the Roman republic was subject only to the imperial government. The imperial plenipotentiaries received the Roman oath of vassalage, but the Emperor himself never entered the city. For the great captains had taken no share in the treaty, but remained armed and defiant within their towers. Frederick restored the Prefecture as an imperial office and bestowed it on John of Vico, son of the former Prefect Peter; he then caused a new communal council to be elected, and took four hundred hostages from the Romans.²

¹ . . . quod Senatum non nisi per eum vel per nuntium suum ordinabunt.—D. Imp. confirmabit Senatum perpetuo in eo vigore, in quo nunc est, et augebit eum tali tenore, ut Senatus—si subjectus fiat, et faciet inde privilegium cum sigillo auri, in quo continentur hæc, videl. confirmatio Senatus, et quod faciet salva omnia iusta testamenta populi Romani—Godefridi Monachi *Annal.*, A. 1167: Goldast, i. 293; *Annal. Colon. Maximi* (*Mon. Germ.*, xvii. 781).

² These details are only given in Marangone's ancient chronicle: CCC obsides, quos Imp. antea habere non poterat, ei dederunt, et L. Senatores ex præcepto Augusti constituerunt. Nevertheless there were probably fifty-six Senators.

He stood in these days at the very summit of his power. He had restored the imperial rights in Rome, had installed his pope in S. Peter's, had overthrown the Gregorian hierarchy, and, with the complete subjugation of Italy, could re-establish the Roman world-empire. In the midst, however, of these brilliant successes the destroying angel of Roman fever appeared, as the faithful believed, to save the Pope ; or rather a terrible calamity overtook the mighty monarch and gave the cities time and power to break their chains. The hand of Fate seemed to lay hold of Frederick as it had laid hold of Xerxes. The priests could rejoice, for Rome was transformed into Jerusalem, and Frederick into the dismayed Sennacherib. A heavy rain-cloud burst over the city on August 2, and was followed by scorching sunshine; the malaria—fatal in August—became a pestilential fever. The flower of the unconquered army was carried away by an inglorious death; cavalry, infantry, and grooms withered and sank, often suddenly on horseback or on foot, in the streets, and it soon became impossible any longer to bury the dead. Frederick saw his greatest heroes die within seven days; Rainald of Cologne, Godfrey of Speyer, Eberhard of Regensburg, the Counts of Nassau and of Lippe, Frederick of Rotenburg, several bishops and lords, countless nobles and commoners were snatched away. Rome itself suffered terribly from the pestilence. Thousands died and were thrown into the river. Not for centuries had the city suffered a blow so overwhelming as the defeat at Monte Porzio and

The German army is swept away by fever.

the fatal outbreak of fever, which immediately followed.¹ The Germans were seized by terror; they believed that the hand of God was chastening them for the sufferings of the sacred city, for the burnt churches and the blood-stained temple of Christendom.

The
Emperor
withdraws
from Rome,
Aug. 6,
1167.

The Emperor struck his tents on August 6, and departed in dismay with the remains of his forces, which marched onwards like an army of spectres. He left Paschalis and the Roman hostages at Viterbo and thence proceeded to Pisa. More than two thousand men fell by the way; others, bloodless and ghost-like, carried death back with them to Germany, or perished in Italy like Acerbus Morena and the young Duke Guelf, the last heir of the house of Este and of the patrimonies of Spoleto, Tuscany, and Sardinia which had belonged to the Countess Matilda.

Such was the terrible end of Frederick's war around Rome, outside whose walls since Gothic times entire German races had sunk into their unknown graves. The German, mindful of the terrible

¹ Godfrey describes it, and so does Morena. The *Chronicle of Piacenza*, edited by Huillard, Paris, 1856: *descendit pluvius, quæ appellatur Basobus m. augusti*. *Heinrici Hist. Calani. Eccl. Salsb.* in *Pez, Thesaur.*, ii. 3, p. 210 ff. The malaria appeared to the author of the *Annal. Cameracens.* (*Mon. Germ.*, xvi.) like a huge black cloud that suddenly covered the valley by Monte Mario; there Rainald died (August 14; the *Annales Egmundani*, A. 1167, bestow an excellent encomium upon him) and 7000 Germans; in Rome itself 20,000—probably an exaggeration. The *Annal. Palidenses* also say: *innumeram multitudinem præcipue Romanor. stravit, quippe muris inclusæ*. The dry summer was followed by so severe a winter that the Lago di Fucino froze (*Chron. Fossæ N.*).

suffering of the illustrious city and all the blood of his forefathers which has watered this spot of earth, cannot make the circuit of the lofty walls of Aurelian without pain.¹

¹ "And the Lord sent an angel which cut off all the mighty men of valour, and the leaders and captains, in the camp of the King of Assyria, so he returned with shame of face to his own land" (2 Chron., xxxii. 21). This passage floated before the mind of Thomas of Canterbury, when he wrote to congratulate Alexander III. that Sennacherib had retreated and that the Lord had destroyed his army, *consumpsit eos morte famosissima* (Ep. xxii. lib. ii., in Lupus). Almost all the chroniclers speak of a divine judgment, with which priests are always ready to hand. Card. Arag.: *Tunc idem Fr. divina se manu percussus fore intelligens, cum Romanis utcumque composuit, et VIII. Id. Aug. non sine manifesta confusione recessit*. The date, August 6, in my opinion is doubtful. On August 6 the Emperor still dates *juxta Romam in Monte Gaudii*, Stumpf, ii. 364. On September 4 he was in Pontremoli. John of Salisbury says (Ep. 159 in Lupus): *Imperator—quasi torris raptus de incendio, confusus ab Urbe recessit*.

CHAPTER VI.

- I. WAR BETWEEN FREDERICK AND THE LOMBARD CITIES
 —PASCHALIS III. IN ROME — CALIXTUS III.—
 TUSCULUM SURRENDERS TO THE CHURCH—THE
 ROMANS REFUSE ALEXANDER III. ADMITTANCE TO
 THE CITY—VICTORY OF THE LOMBARDS AT LEGNANO
 —FREDERICK'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE POPE—
 CONGRESS AND PEACE AT VENICE—ALEXANDER
 MAKES PEACE WITH ROME—HIS TRIUMPHAL ENTRY
 IN THE LATERAN.

IF the undaunted courage with which Frederick continued the war against the cities after his disaster before Rome deserves admiration, his infatuation is nevertheless deplorable. The hero might soon wish, like Alexander the Great, that he had never seen Italy, but had rather turned his arms against distant Asia.¹ He was forced to leave Lombardy as a fugitive in the spring of 1168. While he exhausted the strength of the empire in the struggle with the stronger spirit of the age, the Pope formed an alliance with this spirit. A curious chain of circumstances placed the freedom of the republics under the protection of the Church, the freedom of the Church under the protection of the republics. It would have

¹ *Beato Alessandro, che non vide Italia: felice me, se in Asia fossi trapassato.* Ricobald of Ferrara, p. 372; quoted by Raumer.

redounded more to the glory of the Church had the promotion of civic liberty been her own independent act. But while the popes made war on civic liberty in Rome, where it turned to the Emperor seeking protection from the Church, they at the same time favoured it in Lombardy, where the cities found a support in the Pope against the Emperor. It was, however, invariably to the triumph of democracy that the Papacy owed its escape from schism and imperial dictatorship.¹

The struggle of the Lombard league against Frederick has covered Italy for centuries with a glorious renown, as it were of the noble Hellenic spirit. After so dark a period the vigorous growth of civic freedom is the finest phenomenon of the Middle Ages. The city of Rome alone remained condemned to roll the stone of Sisyphus and to fight painfully against a destiny mightier than herself. In face of the heroic struggle of the Lombards, it is sad to watch the Romans at constant war with the petty neighbouring cities, on which they wished to avenge their unforgotten defeat. They destroyed Albano in April 1168, Christian of Mainz and the imperial Prefect lending their aid.² In spite of the

¹ The Lombard league was formed in the year 1167. See inquiries and documents concerning its history in Cesare Vignati, *Storia diplom. della Lega Lombarda*, Milano, 1866. H. Prutz, *Kaiser Friedrich I.*, vol. ii. 55 seq. Cremona, Mantua, Bergamo, and Brescia formed a coalition as early as the beginning of March 1167: Giesebrecht, v. (1888) 564 ff.

² *Cod. Farfensis Vatican.*, 6808: *an̄ dni MCLXVIII. V. Idus Aprilis Albanensis civitas destructa est a Romanis*. The Catalogue in Cencius: *Albanum a Romanis concrematum est VI. Idus*
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catastrophe of August these two men remained leaders of the German party in Rome, whither the anti-pope had returned from Viterbo. Paschalis III. was able to dwell for some time in the Vatican, where the Senators had admitted him, in order to obtain the release of the hostages. The city, however, was forbidden him. He was forced to seek shelter in the Trasteverine towers of Stefano Tebaldi, in fear of a change of the Senate, the election of whose members was to take place on November 1, 1168.¹ Meanwhile he died in the Vatican, when John, Abbot of Strumi, succeeded him as Calixtus III.

Calixtus
III., anti-
pope, 1168.

The Romans laughed at both popes. Although they were glad to see Alexander III. in exile, they tolerated his cardinal-vicar in the city. The latter exerted himself to win them to his side, and Conrad of Wittelsbach, as Alexander's general, at the same time threatened Latium from Benevento.² His object was Tusculum; the Romans trembled with rage at the very name; they determined to destroy the fortress as they had destroyed Albano. Conrad, repulsed by the Counts of Ceccano, could not reach it, and Raino, the last lord of Tusculum, bartered the

Aprilis. With more exactitude in the *Chron. Foss. Nov.*, ad an. 1168, and Card. Arag., p. 460.

¹ *Clausus est in turre Stephani Theobaldi, nec audet egredi, timetque usq. ad mortem innovationem Senatorum, qui in Cal. Novembr. Urbis regimen accepturi sunt.* Ep. 108, lib. ii., of John of Salisbury, in tom. x., of Lupus. See also Ep. 66.

² *Chron. Fossæ Novæ*, ad A. 1168. It is strange to see two archbishops of Mainz, Christian and Conrad, opposed to each other in Latium.

place to the Prefect John, without regard to the rights of the Pope. John took possession of Tusculum, but the Romans attacked the fortress. The Prefect fled, Raino returned, but was not admitted by the citizens; they preferred surrender to the Pope, from whom they hoped for protection. Raino also renounced his rights in favour of the Church. Thus it came to pass that the renowned Tusculum fell into the papal possession on August 8, 1170.¹

Alexander III., now dwelling in Veroli, found himself in fierce controversy with the King of England respecting the Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury. The king vainly bribed the Roman nobles to influence the Pope in his favour, and no less vainly offered his treasury and his aid towards the subjugation of Rome.² Alexander received envoys from the Emperor, who desired peace, and envoys from the Lombard cities, whose aid he had invoked; Greek envoys also arrived with renewed proposals. Emmanuel Comnenus demeaned himself so far as to

Alexander
III. in
Campania.

¹ Card. Aragon., p. 462; Romuald, p. 210, who writes Jonathan by mistake instead of Raino. Raino had received Monte Fiascone and S. Flaviano in exchange from the Prefect John, to whom they had been mortgaged by the Pope; Raino, however, was not received in these towns. Document of August 8, 1170, Cencius, fol. 261: *Ego Rayno fil. quond. Tholomei de Tusculana—dimitto vobis duo nro Alex. Pp.—et S. R. E.—civitatem Tusculanam cum arce.—Et ab hac hora inantea potestatem habeatis in ea intrandi, tenendi, possidendi, &c.* In 1147 Raino mortgaged Castrum Algidi to the Pope, who had lent him 200 pounds (Cencius, fol. 115). We see how quickly the house of Tusculum fell to decay.

² *Domno vero Papa obtulit, quia data pecunia liberaret eum ab exactionibus omnium Romanorum—repulsam passus est.* Ep. 80, lib. ii., in Lupus, tom. x., and further back, Ep. 79.

Alexander
III. in
Tusculum.

marry his own niece to Oddo Frangipane, the greatest vassal of the Church. The marriage took place in Veroli, but nevertheless Alexander III. did not agree to the proposals of the Greeks.¹ His negotiations with Frederick also failed, but he now hoped to obtain admission to Rome. He entered Tusculum with a military force on October 17, 1170. For more than two years the great Pope was forced to dwell on the rocky height in the very face of Rome, the Romans refusing to allow him entrance to the city.² At Tusculum he received the news of Becket's murder at Canterbury, and the sacrilegious act soon became the mightiest lever of the papal power. But while Alexander received the envoys of the English clergy and those of King Henry in Tusculum, and was engaged in revolving the weightiest matters of the Church, his position in the Latin fortress was in glaring opposition to his dignity.³ He was harassed by Christian of Mainz, whose retreat was only procured by a large sum of money paid by the Tusculans; he was also sorely harassed by the Romans, indignant that he protected Tusculum. They cunningly proposed a treaty, in which they made the destruction of at least a portion of the walls of the fortress the condition of his reception

¹ *Chron. Foss. Nov.*, ad an. 1170. Alexander came to Veroli on March 18. For the other negotiations, see Card. Arag., p. 461.

² *Cod. Cencii*, fol. 262: *Celebrata nativitate b. Mariæ cum fratribus suis de Verulis exiens—in vigilia Sct. Lucie (s. Luce, Jaffé, p. 735) cum gloria et honore civitatem ipsam (Tuscul.) intravit, et in palatio ipsius arcis tamquam dominus per XVI. (read with Jaffé XXVI.) menses resedit.*

³ Reuter, iii. 116.

back to Rome. Eight hundred Roman citizens swore to the treaty, but in spite of the words of the document the Romans destroyed the entire fortifications of the hated city. The defrauded Pope refused to return to Rome; he remained for the time in undefended Tusculum, but left in the beginning of 1173, to continue his hopeless exile in Segni.¹

Some years thus passed away until a great Lombard victory completely altered the aspect of affairs. In September 1174, Frederick returned to fight a decisive battle against the cities. The heroic defence of Ancona and of the newly founded Alessandria inflamed the courage of the brave burghers, until a battle of immortal fame secured their freedom. The day at Legnano, where, on May 29, 1176, the allied civic forces defeated the powerful Emperor, was the Marathon of the Lombard republics. The youthful cities celebrated one of the most splendid triumphs of history; they obtained their own freedom and that of their native country. The first result of this victory, it is true, was the secret understanding between the Emperor and the Pope, to whom, in Anagni, Frederick sent envoys of peace, hoping to detach him from the cause of the cities. In order to obtain his object, Frederick renounced the actual imperial rights, conceding all that he had previously

Victory of
the Lom-
bards at
Legnano,
May 29,
1176.

¹ Cencius and Romuald, *ad A.* 1171. More correct chronologically is the *Chron. Foss. Nov.*, *ad A.* 1172. *Ind. V. Alexand. P. fecit finem cum Romanis, qui destruxerunt muros civitatis Tusculanae mense Nov. Vita Alex.* in Watterich, ii. 417. Jaffé shows that Alexander went from Tusculum to Segni at the end of January 1173. He canonised Thomas here on February 4.

refused Adrian IV.¹ It thus happened that the imperial power in Rome, which had fallen to decadence since the time of Lothar, was renounced by the same great Emperor who undertook to restore the boundaries of the ancient empire. Alexander hastened to extract all possible capital for the Church out of the Lombard victory, and the cities suspected treachery. After reaching Venice in a Sicilian vessel from Siponto, he tranquillised the cities at a diet assembled at Ferrara, giving a solemn promise that he would not conclude any definite peace without their sanction. The Lombard consuls might tell him, that while they made war by deeds he fought the great enemy with words or bulls. They were forced, however, to remain satisfied with half the profits of their heroic exertions.

At the first and most memorable of all congresses, where diplomatic agents did not as yet take their place at green tables to decide the fate of nations, but where envoys of free cities appeared for the first time beside Emperor and Pope,—at this celebrated congress in Venice peace was concluded on August 1, 1177, between Alexander, Frederick I., the cities, the Greek Emperor, and William of Sicily.² Calixtus III. was deposed, and Alexander III. recognised and secured in the State of the Church. The Emperor, in renouncing the prefecture, admitted that the Pope henceforth was the independent ruler of Rome

¹ Text of the articles of Anagni in Giesebrecht, v. 797 ff.

² The peace of Venice, which was sworn to on August 1, was confirmed in S. Mark's on August 15 (Murat., *Antiq. It.*, iv. 285). Treaty with the cities at Constance on June 25, 1183.

and the Patrimonium. The State of the Church, which now stretched from Aquapendente to Ceperano, was restored to him. The Pope on his side recognised Spoleto, the March of Ancona, and the Romagna as undoubtedly belonging to the empire.¹ To the Lombard league a truce of six years was granted, to precede the ratification of the recognition of the cities as independent.²

The peace of Venice, which also decided the fate of Rome, forms a great epoch in the history of Italy, and the burgher class here appears in its perfected growth. But the attitude in which Rome stood towards the Emperor and Pope placed it on a less favourable footing than that of the Lombard cities. Frederick unhesitatingly sacrificed the republic which he had recognised, and his general, Christian of Mainz, even placed his arms at the disposal of the Church, in conformity with the contract to attain the subjugation of the city and patrimonium. At a time when the whole of Italy hailed peace with rejoicings, the Romans, abandoned to themselves, lost courage to prolong the struggle with the Pope, who had acknowledged the Emperor as ruler of Rome. Alexander had returned to Anagni about the middle of

¹ Ficker, *Forsch. zur Reichs- und Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 307, &c., p. 469. In the *Pactum Anagninum* (Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 147) the envoys promise that the Emperor *præfecturam Urbis et terram comitis Mathildæ restituet* to the Pope, i.e., so much of the latter as was then comprehended in the Patrimonium.

² It was also decided at Venice that Christian was to retain the Archbishopric of Mainz; Conrad became Archbishop of Salzburg, but after Christian's death was made Archbishop of Mainz for the second time. He died October 25, 1200.

December; he knew that his exile was at an end. Seven noble Romans brought him letters from the clergy, Senate and people, inviting him to return. Suspicious, and mindful of the insults he had suffered, he sent cardinals and intermediaries to the city to make terms with the people. After tedious negotiations they came to an agreement. It was decided that the Senators, annually elected on September 1, were to take the oath of fidelity to the Pope; the cathedral of S. Peter and all the revenues of the Church were to be restored to him; safety was to be secured to all travellers journeying to Rome. Roman envoys threw themselves at the feet of Alexander in Anagni, and swore adherence to the treaty.¹

Alexander III. enters Rome, March 12, 1178.

After an exile of ten years, spent in wandering in Campania, Alexander finally proceeded by way of Tusculum to Rome, escorted by German troops under the Archbishop Christian. He entered the city on March 12, 1178, on the feast of S. Gregory, and was received with the greatest pomp. He was greeted by processions of Senators and Magistrates, of the knighthood and militia, to the sound of trumpets, and by the entire populace bearing branches of olive and singing hymns of praise. Only by slow degrees could his white palfrey make its way through the crowd which thronged to kiss the feet of Christ's representative, and not until evening did he reach the Lateran gate. Then entering the ancient seat of the popes, amid the applause of the multitude,

¹ *Statutum est, ut Senatores qui fieri solent, fidelitatem et hominum D. Papa facerent, et B. Petri Ecclesiam, atque regalia, quæ ab eis fuer. occupata . . . restituerunt.* Card. Aragon., p. 475.

he gave the benediction, and the Easter festival closed one of the most splendid triumphs that a pope has ever experienced.¹

No other spot in the world has witnessed spectacles such as these, spectacles so tragical in their bearing on human nature, its needs, its impotence, its instability, and its permanence. The flight of popes amid the din of fierce faction warfare alternates with their triumphant receptions, and the constant repetition of the papal departures and entries invests the history of the city with a solemn aspect, like that of a great epic. And what epic could be greater? Rome constantly appears to be transformed into Jerusalem, and the pope to be making his entry like the Saviour, whose vicar he called himself. But the combination of spiritual humility and worldly arrogance could never remove the impression that the representative of Christ was reviving the Pagan triumphal processions of the ancient emperors.² Trajan or Severus would have looked with surprise on the altered aspect of the Roman Senate and

¹ *Exierunt obviam sibi in longum Clerus Rom. cum vexillis et crucib., quod nulli Romanor. Pontifici recolitur factum, Senatores et Magistratus Populi cum . . . tubis, nobiles cum militia in apparatu decoro, et pedestris populositas cum ramis olivarum, laudes Pontifici consuetas vociferans.* Card. Arag., p. 475. Andrea Dandolo (*Chron.*, pars 36) says that the Romans came to meet him *cum tubis argenteis, et octo vexillis diversorum colorum*, and that the Pope had sent them to the doge as a memorial.

² Bernard would have said to Alexander what he wrote to Eugenius III.: *In his successisti, non Petro, sed Constantino.—Petrus sic est, qui nescitur processisse aliquando, vel gemmis ornatus, vel sericis, non lectus auro, non vectus equo albo; nec stipatus milite, nec circumstrepentibus septus ministris.* *De consid.*, iv. c. 3.

people, who, on March 12, 1178, greeted a triumphator seated on a white mule, a triumphator who was only a priest, clad in the silken robes of a woman and wearing no sword. And yet this priest was returning like a general from long wars; the great ones of the earth had abased themselves at his knees, even as princes had humbled themselves before the ancient emperors. At his command a distant king had submitted to be scourged by monks at the grave of a murdered bishop, and the Roman Emperor, himself a hero like the ancient Cæsars, had prostrated himself on the ground, had kissed his feet, and had acknowledged himself conquered by a priest.

2. THE PROVINCIAL BARONS CONTINUE THE SCHISM—
JOHN THE CITY PREFECT UPHOLDS CALIXTUS III.—
THE ROMANS MAKE WAR ON VITERBO—CALIXTUS
III. YIELDS—LANDO OF SEZZA ANTI-POPE—COUNCIL
IN ROME—DEATH OF ALEXANDER III. (1181).

The popes might trust in any thing rather than in the rejoicings of the city. The Romans spread carpets for their mules to tread on to-day; they retired in derision within the ruins of antiquity, or seized the sword in anger on the morrow. People and Senate had recognised Alexander from motives of policy, but with the municipal constitution the ancient dispute between the rights of the republic and those of its priestly head still survived. The papal power inspired hatred but not fear; the people murmured and were ready for a fresh revolt, not in the city alone, but throughout the entire district. Every town in Roman territory emulated the

Lombards, each had its own municipality with consul or other magistrates at the head of the communal council.¹ Several schismatic provincial barons in Tuscany and the Sabina, by this time almost accustomed to independence, assumed an attitude of defiance; they would neither recognise the Senate, whose numbers after the peace were constantly increased by the influx of other nobles, nor would they yield submission to the Pope. They therefore continued the schism on their own account. Above all, the anti-pope refused obedience to the decrees of Venice. Viterbo, which was at this period, as Sutri or Tivoli had formerly been, the centre of the schism, served him as a place of abode, and Calixtus was protected by the family of the lords of Vico, of which John the City Prefect was a member. John, who owned valuable property in the neighbourhood, was at enmity with Alexander III., and from an imperial wished to become a papal official; for the Pope had renounced the investiture of the City Prefect in the treaty of Anagni. But the popular

The provincial barons continue the schism.

The City Prefect opposes Alexander III.

¹ In 1164 the Bishop of Anagni complained that the commune taxed his people; the Pope replied that he would forbid the measure: *vestra petitio continebat, quod potestas, consilium, populus civitatis Anagnina familiares et servientes vestros ad . . . contribuendum cum aliis civibus Anagn. in datis, collectis, angariis, et parangariis, et aliis oneribus supradictæ civitatis propria temeritate compellunt in vestrum prejudicium*—*dat. Anagn. Id. Junii pont. n. an. V.* (Labbé, *Concil.*, xii. col. 252). We thus see the existence in Anagni of the three civic powers; the appearance of the Podesta here in 1164 is remarkable. In a document of the year 1159 the *populus Ostiensis* pledge themselves to pay the Pope two *platrate* of wood annually: the Procurator of the Commune herein appears with the *boni viri cives Ostienses* (Murat., *Ant.*, i. 675).

party in Viterbo was weary of serving the ambition of the nobles, and pronounced in favour of the peace of Venice. When Christian of Mainz, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, received the allegiance of the Viterbese in Alexander's name, the nobles, irritated by the Prefect, resisted. They held negotiations with Conrad, son of the Margrave of Montferrat, whom they wished to invest with the custody of Viterbo, and raised their arms against the people and the Archbishop of Mainz. Reduced to extremities, the barons, by the Prefect's advice, asked the aid of the Roman republic, which had already been frequently at war with Viterbo, and the Romans, ridiculing the treaty with the Pope, advanced against the provincial town which had just done him homage.

Calixtus
makes
submission.

Alexander now commanded the Archbishop of Mainz and the people of Viterbo to avoid battle; and in consequence the Romans returned after having laid waste the fields, and nothing remained to the Prefect John but to do homage to the Pope and accept investiture at his hands.¹ His protégé, Calixtus III., lost courage, and although he remained for a time defiant in the fortress of Monte Albano near Nomentum, Christian's troops finally forced him to yield. In Tusculum, whither Alexander had long since again withdrawn, the anti-pope cast himself at the feet of his great enemy, who, as stipulated by the peace of Venice, pardoned him

¹ Romuald, *ad. A.* 1178 (p. 241); time, before August. *Ad pedes Alexandri P. accedens, confirmata sibi Praefectura ejus homo devenit.* The restitution of the prefecture through the Emperor to the Pope took place *salvo omni jure imperii.*

and afterwards gave him the rectorate of Benevento as indemnification.¹

The landgraves nevertheless put forward a new anti-pope in September—Lando of Sezza, a member of one of the petty German families who tyrannised over the Campagna. He called himself Innocent III. He found first protection and then a treacherous overthrow in Palombara; for the lords of the fortress, near relatives of the former anti-pope Victor IV., betrayed him for gold and he was banished to the monastery of La Cava.²

As early as March 1179 Alexander assembled 300 bishops at the Œcumenical Council in the Lateran, to heal the wounds which the long schism had inflicted on the Church. It was here decreed that a majority of two-thirds of the cardinals should henceforward suffice to decide the papal election. The election was thus placed solely in the hands of the College of Cardinals, and its independence of every temporal power was again proclaimed as a law

Lateran
Council,
March
1179.

¹ Calixtus made submission in Tusculum on August 29. *Anon. Cassinens.*, ad A. 1178; *Chron. Foss. Nov.*; Romuald at the end of the *Chronicle*.

² 3 *Kal. Oct. quidam de secta schismatica—Landum Sitinum elegerunt in Pap. Innoc. Chr. Foss. Nov.*, ad A. 1178. Sigeib. (*Auctar. Ag.*) wrongly holds Lando to be a Frangipani. *Anon. Cassin.*, A. 1180: *apud Palumbariam cum sociis captus*. The same continuator of Sigebert says that Lando's protector in a fortress near Rome was a brother of Victor IV. The lords of Palombara were Filippo and Oddo, probably sons of *Octavianus comes Palumbarie*, who is mentioned in an Act of Farfa of 1159. Concerning Palombara, see Nibby's *Analisi*. The surrender took place at the beginning of 1180, when Rome was devastated by an inundation of the Tiber and by pestilence (*Chr. Foss. Nov.*, ad A. 1180).

of the Church. This independence had been won for her by Alexander in the war he had successfully waged against the schism and the Emperor.

Thus, after tedious struggles, Alexander III. was recognised as sole head of the Church. In Rome and the ecclesiastical State he remained, however, powerless as before. The captains harassed him incessantly; these defiant vassals made war on the sacred chair, and formed feudal contracts with it no less than with the Roman republic, which proved incapable of compelling them to become Roman citizens and to live under the municipal laws. The Senate, on the other hand, only nominally received investiture from the Pope; it was essentially independent and protected by the arms of the militia. With the militia Christian of Mainz was constantly at war, fighting on account of Viterbo against Conrad of Montferrat. He had even suffered a tedious imprisonment at the hands of Conrad.¹ Alexander III., to whom fortune had granted such marvellous victories, never felt himself in Rome otherwise than in an enemy's country. He left the city as early as the summer of 1179, and henceforward lived in different parts of Latium, or resumed his exile in Tusculum. In June 1181 he went from Tusculum to Viterbo to seek the protection of his friend Christian of Mainz, and died soon afterwards

¹ Among the Roman nobility the distinguished family of *Henricus de S. Eustachio* was faithful to the Pope. Alexander III. demanded satisfaction from Christian of Mainz for a noble of this house who had been ill-used by Christian's troops. S. Löwenfeld, *Ep. Pont. Rom. ined.*, 1885, n. 282, of the year 1178.

(on August 30) in Civita Castellana. The Roman populace, who had strewed flowers on the path of the living triumphator, now threw stones on the bier of the dead, and it was with difficulty that the cardinals secured a grave in the Lateran for one of the greatest of all popes.¹

Death of
Alexander
III., Aug.
30, 1181.

No pope since Adrian I. had filled the sacred⁷ chair so long as Alexander III., but out of the twenty-two years of his reign, eighteen had been occupied by the schism, and more than half the period had been spent in exile.² His long struggle with Frederick covered him with glory; he secured, and extended the conquests of Gregory VII. and Calixtus II.; he weakened still further the decaying empire, which he beheld prostrate and praying for peace at his feet in the very person of a hero. After the Congress of Venice and the penance of Henry of England the prestige of the Papacy acquired a hitherto unknown lustre, and a lustre the more brilliant from the fact that Alexander himself was endowed with true dignity. The person of the Pope is also illumined by a ray of the glorious dawn of Italian civic liberty; this, however, he owed to fortune, not to merit. The necessities of the time created the unnatural alliance between freedom and sacerdotalism, but it is at least gratifying to find

¹ Sigeb., *Cont. Aquicinct.*, ad A. 1181. His mausoleum has perished.

² *Tres tantum precesserunt eum in numero annorum, quo Roman. Eccl. prafuerunt, b. Petrus sed. 25 annis, Silvester I. 23, Adrianus totidem. Robertus de Monte*, ad A. 1181. After Alexander III., Pius VII. reigned twenty-three years, Pius IX., however, more than thirty-one.

that the Church, which necessarily is almost invariably united with despotism, was once (as according to her ideal she always should be) the pioneer of the human race in the path of moral freedom and culture. And only when she has acted this part has she shone with a celestial radiance. Whenever, from motives of priestly ambition, she has, on the contrary, opposed the nobler impulses of the people, she has received the hatred instead of the love of mankind. Alexander III. was a man of more moderate and tranquil nature than Gregory VII., and, apart from his dissensions with Roman policy, might be esteemed the most fortunate of popes.¹

3. LUCIUS III.—WAR BETWEEN ROME AND TUSCULUM
—DEATH OF CHRISTIAN OF MAINZ—LUCIUS III.
QUARRELS WITH THE EMPEROR—DIES IN VERONA
—URBAN III.—THE SICILIAN MARRIAGE—HENRY
VI. INVADERS THE CAMPAGNA—GREGORY VIII.—
CLEMENT III.—PEACE WITH THE ROMAN REPUBLIC,
1188.

The fact that three of Alexander's successors were forced to live in exile is sufficient to show the relations that subsisted between the popes and the city. The figure of Frederick's great opponent towers like the figure of a hero over the commonplace forms of these three popes, who died after having inhaled a few breaths of misfortune. The ebb succeeded the flow—an ever-recurring law in the history of the Papacy.

¹ The most accurate account of Alexander III.'s pontificate is given in Reuter's work (Leipzig, 1864).

Lucius III., Ubaldo Allucingoli, of Lucca, hitherto Cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri, was not even elected in Rome, but was raised to the Papacy by the College of Cardinals assembled at Velletri,¹ and was ordained on September 6, 1181. After an agreement with the Romans he came to the city in November, and was allowed to remain some months.¹ The spirit of Arnold still survived in Rome, and each pope was obliged to win toleration for himself, or else to live in exile. Since Lucius refused to concede the privileges accorded by earlier popes, it would seem that he was already at enmity with the Romans.² Tusculum remained a permanent source of strife. The fortress was the object of a hatred bordering on frenzy to the Romans, as Fiesole was to the Florentines, until Florence destroyed her neighbour in 1125. The Tusculans had vainly sought protection under the banner of the Pope; with great efforts they rebuilt their walls and made a desperate resistance to the repeated attacks of the enemy. When the Romans attacked Tusculum with increased force on June 28, 1183, Lucius III., who remained shut up in Segni, summoned Christian of Mainz from Tuscany; Christian came, and the recollection of the battle of Monte Porzio sufficed to

Lucius III.
Pope,
1181-1185.

The
Romans
against
Tusculum.

¹ Jaffé shows that he was in the Lateran on November 2, 1181, and that he remained there until March 1182. On March 13 he was again in Velletri.

² *Ortium est grave dissidium inter Romanos et P. Lucium super consuetudinibus quibusdam, quas predecessores sui facere solebant, quas supradictus Papa juravit, se nunquam facturum.* Roger Hoveden, *Annales*, pars. poster., p. 621 (quoted by Curtius, p. 271).

drive the Romans back twice.¹ The warlike archbishop advanced to the walls of the city, but the August fever, which had formerly killed his celebrated companion Rainald, also proved fatal to himself. At first the fierce enemy of the sacred chair, afterwards its defender, the brave hero bore the papal blessing to his grave ; he died in Tusculum, the scene of his actions, and was buried there.² Christian, who was one of the greatest princes of his age, was also a living satire on every pious effort made to divest the bishops of the offensive character of worldliness, since he, the Archbishop of Mainz (for as such he was recognised after the peace of Venice), remained a jovial knight until his death, kept a harem of beautiful girls, and, clad in glittering armour, rode a splendid horse, swinging the battle axe with which he shattered the helmet and head of many an enemy.

His death was a severe blow to the Pope, who now summoned the princes to his aid, but only received words and some money in answer. The

¹ *Chron. Foss. Nov.*, ad A. 1183, transfers the siege of Tusculum to *Kal. Julii*. A marginal note in the *Cod. Vat.*, 1984, more correctly : *in vigilia b. Petri ap. A. 2 Lucii III. papa Ind. I*. The same Codex : *interea Roma a XXV. senatoribus administrabatur*.

² *R. Hov.*, p. 662, says that Christian had been killed by drinking from a fountain which had been poisoned by the Romans. Lucius invited the German clergy to pray for the dead (*Schannat, Vindem. liter.*, ii. 118, Mansi, xxii. 480). The Pope calls him *vir valde providus et magnificus*. *Conradi Ep. Chron. Mogunt.*, p. 573, also speaks of Christian's death. A panegyric of him is given in *Annal. Stadenses* (*Mon. Germ.*, xvi.), A. 1173 : *disertus et facundus, vir largus et illustris*. He spoke several languages. *Nulla civitas ei resistere audebat*. The asses in his army were more luxuriously cared for than the servants of the Emperor. *Varrentrap, Erzbischof Christian von Mainz*.

Romans turned with increased courage against all such places as remained faithful to the Pope. They devastated the territory of Tusculum in April 1184, and carried their ravages far into Latium.¹ Their hatred of the clergy was fierce and barbarous; on one occasion they seized a company of priests in the Campagna, put out the eyes of all but one, placed mitres, inscribed with the names of cardinals, on their heads, and, setting them on asses, ordered the one priest whom they had spared to conduct the sad procession to the Pope.² Lucius III. fled to the Emperor at Verona, whither Frederick, having concluded a peace with the cities on April 30, 1183, had arrived from Constance. The Emperor's meeting with the Pope gave rise to many disputes concerning the investitures and Matilda's bequest. Lucius also refused to bestow the imperial crown on Frederick's son King Henry, by which a Carolingian custom would have been revived. The request was discussed with great vehemence in Verona; and the Emperor parted from the Pope in anger. He had, however, previously appointed Count Berthold of Kunsberg as Commandant of Campania in Christian's place, with orders that he was to defend Tusculum against the Romans.³ The Romans

Lucius III.
seeks the
protection
of the
Emperor
at Verona.

¹ *Chr. Foss. Nov.*, A. 1184: 13 Kal. Maji incenderunt Palatium, et Serronem, Penestrum, et sic Romani reversi sunt.

² Sigeb., *Auct. Ag.*, ad A. 1184: Romani—in contumeliam cardinalium excogitant inauditum flagitium—and similarly, *Annales Stadenses*, A. 1183, which say, however, that the Romans maltreated twenty-six Tusculans. This reminds us of the later scenes of the Albigensian war.

³ *Chron. Foss. Nov.*: postea d. Papa ivit in Lombardiam, et misit

Death of
Lucius III.
Nov. 25.,
1185.

were even excommunicated by Lucius at the Council of Verona. For the rebels against the *Dominium Temporale* were classed with the heretical sects of the time, who were ever becoming more powerful,—the Waldenses, Cathari, Humiliates, the Poor of Lyons, and others,—as Arnoldists, and were solemnly cursed.¹ Lucius III. died at Verona on November 25, 1185. The melancholy but ingenious lines placed on his grave admirably depict his fate and that of other popes of the age:—

*Lucius, Luca tibi dedit ortum, Pontificatum
Ostia, Papatum Roma, Verona mori.
Immo Verona dedit verum tibi vivere, Roma
Exilium, curas Ostia, Luca mori.*

Urban III.,
Pope,
1185-1187.

His successor, as melancholy a figure as himself, remained in exile in Verona. This was Humbert Crivelli, Archbishop of Milan, a violent and unyielding spirit, and a strong opponent of Frederick. He was consecrated as Urban III. on December 3, 1185. The tension which existed between him and

Comitem Bertoldum legatum Imp. F. pro defensione Tusculana, et ad recolligendam Roccam de Papa, quam ipse callide expugnavit. The first mention of this place. In order to supplement the regesta of Frederick, I make note of his privilegium for Foligno, to which he presented Bevania and Cocoratum. Among the witnesses are *Gotefrid. patriar. Aquil. Conradus Archiep. Mogunt. Otto eps. Babenberg. Gotefridus Imp. aula cancellar. Conradus dux Spoletan. Gerardus comes de Hon. Heinr. comes de Allendorf. Olricus de Luce-linhardt. . . . Dat. Tervisi A.D. J. MCLXXXIIII. Ind. III. VIII. Kal. Dec. fel. Amen.* The original, without a seal, is in the city archives of Foligno.

¹ The decree of Lucius III. (*Ad abolendam diversar. heresium pravitatem*) is more severe than the edicts of Alexander III.; it commands the denunciation and extermination of all heresy by the secular arm. *Mansi*, xii. 476.

the Emperor now developed into open enmity,¹ an enmity largely based on Frederick's refusal to surrender the disputed estates of Matilda. The brilliant success which German statesmanship had attained in Sicily proved a further ground of anxiety to the Curia. After a brief prime, Roger's dynasty neared its end; William II. was childless; he consequently gave his sanction to the marriage of Constance, the daughter of Roger, his aunt and heiress, to Henry, son of Frederick. Without any regard to the Pope, the feudal lord of Sicily, and in defiance of his opposition, the ominous union was celebrated at Milan, where Frederick formally created his son Cæsar. The Pope refused Henry the imperial crown, and (since he remained Archbishop of Milan) the crown of Lombardy also. The Emperor consequently had the ceremony performed by the Patriarch of Aquileia. Sicily, the anxiously guarded fief of the sacred chair, which had so often served as a protection against the German kings, must necessarily fall to this very German empire on William's death. The loss of Sicily was therefore the heaviest defeat which Roman policy could suffer, and for the time the most glorious victory on the side of the German court, which had now attained, through diplomatic arrangements, the object for which so many emperors had hitherto fought in vain. The acquisition of Sicily was to make amends for the loss of Lombardy, and a Hohenstaufen dynasty was

King
Henry
marries
Constance
of Sicily,
Jan. 27,
1186.

¹ Arnold's *Chron. Saxonum*, iii. c. 10, c. 16 seq., speaks clearly concerning the causes. See also Scheffer-Boichorst: *Kaiser Friedr. I. letzter Streit mit der Kurie*, Berlin, 1866.!

founded both in Sicily and in Matilda's territory. But these immense gains soon became the curse not only of Italy but of Germany, which had bitterly to expiate the unpatriotic policy of the Hohenstaufens.

He invades
the State
of the
Church.

At his father's command Henry entered the State of the Church as an enemy; the Romans gladly joined him; the districts of Latium which still adhered to the sacred chair were ravaged, and the Pope was deprived of every hope of return.¹ Urban III. meanwhile died in Ferrara, on October 20, 1187. Jerusalem had but just fallen (on October 2), and the news struck like a thunderbolt the heart of a pope who bore the name of the fortunate predecessor during whose pontificate the Holy City had obtained her freedom. The fall of Jerusalem shook the whole of Europe with such force as to thrust into the background the most important matters in the West, and the energies of Pope and Emperor, of kings and bishops, were again directed towards the East.

Gregory
VIII.,
Pope, 1187.

Albert of Mora, a Beneventan, and chancellor of the Church, was immediately (October 25, 1187) consecrated at Ferrara as Gregory VIII. He was old and of amiable disposition, and desired nothing beyond

¹ *Rex. H. subjugavit sibi totam Campaniam præter Fummonem, et Castrum Ferentinum obsedit per novem dies, et ivit super Guarcinum: Chron. Foss. Nov., ad A. 1186.* Henry had come to an understanding even with the Frangipani; one of his diplomas (*A. 1186 Ind. IV. die Dominico, qui fuit Sestus intrante m. Julii*) is signed by *Otto Frangens panem as præf. Roma.* Murat., *Ant. It.*, iv. 471—*actum sub templotio Regis H. feliciter, quando erat in obsid. Urbis Veteris.* On the other hand, in a privilege granted by Henry to the Florentines from Otricoli, on June 24, 1187, *Petrus Urb. præf.* appears as a witness. (Picker, *Urk. zur Reichs- und Rechtsgesch. Ital.*, n. 170.)

peace with the empire and a Crusade to Jerusalem. The Papacy was exhausted by its struggles under Alexander III. Meantime the empire had become stronger; the peace of Venice and that of Constance had put an end to the war with the cities, and the alliance with Sicily had suddenly increased the imperial power. While popes banished from Rome sighed in exile, not a single enemy appeared against Frederick throughout the whole of Italy. Urban III. himself would not have ventured to launch the anathema against the Emperor, and the gentle-natured Gregory VIII. hastened to make peace with King Henry. He promised to advance no opposition to his claims on Sicily, and moreover to recognise the rights of the empire in Italy. Henry VI., therefore, suspended hostilities and sent Count Anselm with Leo de Monumento, Consul of the Romans, to treat with the Pope. The two envoys accompanied Gregory to Pisa, where he went to effect a reconciliation between this republic and Genoa, and to rouse it to take part in the Crusade. He was here overtaken by death on December 17, 1187.¹

¹ *Cod. Vat.*, fol. 200b., gives memoranda of Urban III. and Gregory VIII.—*Max dictus pont. cum tota curia precedentib. Leoni Monumenti et Anselmo ad Pisan. civitatem pervenit. Chron. Altinate* (*Arch. Stor.*, viii. 183) quotes in the list of those present at the peace of Venice: *Leo de Monumento, Romanus Princeps*. On August 24, 1187, *Lavinia Abbatissa S. Cyriaci cedes jure locationis Leonis de monumento suisque filiis . . . terram casarinam pos. retro S. Ciriaci in monticello juxta eccl. S. Laurentii* (*Jacovacci Repertor. Familiar. in the Vatican*). The *Gesta Inn. III.*, c. 23, call *Leo de M.* a relative of Bishop Octavian of Ostia, who, according to Ughelli, l. 67, belonged to the house of Poli. He is mentioned in 1207 in the will of Cardinal Gregorius de Crescentio (*Galletti, Prim.*, p. 335). A hamlet with an

Clement
III., Pope,
1187-1191.

He returns
to Rome.

The cardinals, with the assistance of the Consul Leo, immediately elected the Bishop of Palestrina as Pope, and Paolino Scolari, who belonged to the Region della Pigna, was consecrated as Clement III. in the cathedral of Pisa, on December 20, 1187. A Roman by birth, he succeeded in effecting the peace with the Capitol for which Gregory VIII. had prepared the way. After successful negotiations, he returned to Rome, accompanied by the Consul Leo, in February 1188, and was received with every honour. During the forty-four years' existence of the Roman Senate the popes had been almost incessantly victims of the civic revolution. We have seen how sorrowfully Innocent II. and Celestine II. ended their days, how Lucius II. had been killed by the blow of a stone, how Eugenius, Alexander, Lucius, Urban III., and Gregory VIII. had spent their lives in exile. Clement III. at length brought the Papacy back to Rome, but was forced

ancient monument near Roma Vecchia gave the surname to the family, the oldest member of which, *Octavianus de Monumento*, appears at Würzburg as witness to a document on January 5, 1170. Stumpf, *Acta imp. adhuc inedita*, p. 203 seq. In 1226 a *Comas Octavianus de Monumento*. Bull of Honorius III. *Lateran. Non. April. A. X.* (*Mscr. Vat.*, 6223). In 1217 Honorius ceded to the monastery of S. Thomas on the Coelian *Turrim que dicitur Monumentum, ubi dicitur Statuarium* (near *Sette Bassi* on the *Via Appia*): *Bullar. Vat.*, i. 100. Töche (*Kaiser Heinrich.*, p. 61), from a diploma of Henry VI. in favour of Leo di Anguillara, concludes that this Leo was identical with Leo de Monumento; documents, however, never confuse names. The de Monumento were a family by themselves. Thus in 1221 we read: *Petrus Frajapanis Romanor. Consul Alma Urbis, et Maria de Monumento quond. Henrici Frajapanis uxor* (Borgia, *Velletri*, p. 263). As late as 1279 I find *Angelus de Monumento* (*Archiv., Fler. Rec. di Fiesole*).

to make a formal peace with the city as with an independent power. This was the result not only of the Lombard victories but also of the energetic resistance of the Romans to Emperor and to Pope. The establishment of the Roman democracy forms an important act of the period, for although lacking the fortune and the foundation of the Lombard and Tuscan cities, it nevertheless proves the Romans to have been possessed of praiseworthy energy and prudence.

Generally speaking, Rome assumed the same attitude towards the Pope as that which the Lombard cities had acquired towards the Emperor, or fell back on the treaties of the times of Eugenius III. and Alexander III. The Charter which the Roman Senate compiled and swore to on May 31, 1188, in the forty-fourth year of its existence, has fortunately been preserved to us.¹ According to the articles of this peace, decreed in vigorous language by the authority of the sacred Senate, the Pope was recognised as over-lord. He invested the Senate on the Capitol, which was obliged to take the oath of fidelity to him. He again acquired the right of coining money, a third part of which fell to the Senate.² All revenues which had formerly

He recognises the independent constitution of the city of Rome, May 1188.

¹ *Sanctiss. Patri et Dom. Clementi dei gr. sum. Pontif. et univers. Ppe. S.P.Q.R. salutem et fidele cum subiectione servitium.* No one should violate this peace, *alioquin iram ampliss. Senatus et metuendi pop. Romani gravissima incurrat et odium.* Act XLIIII. *ado Senatus Ind. VI. m. Madii dis ultimo, jussu Senatorum;* the signatures follow. Printed by Baronius from the Cencius codex, then better by Muratori, *Ant. It.*, iii. 785.

² *Ad prasens reddimus vobis Senatam, et Urbem, et Menetam.* Never-

been papal returned to the Pope, the Senate merely retaining the Lucanian Bridge on account of its feud with Tivoli. The restitution of all that by right belonged to the sacred chair was to be settled by document. The Pope further indemnified the Romans for their losses in the war;¹ he undertook to give the judges and notaries, the Senators and the officials of the Senate, the customary presents of money.² He promised one hundred pounds annually for the restoration of the city walls. It was also decreed that since the Roman militia was to be paid by the Pope, the Pope might summon it to the defence of the patrimony. No article defined whether the republic had the right of making peace and war with its enemies without regard to

theless we do not possess a single denarius which shows that the popes exercised the right of coining money in this period.

¹ A receipt of October 27, 1188, for the indemnification of some Senators (from the Archives of the fortress of S. Angelo) is given by Vendettini, p. 175, and Vitale, who wrongly attributes it to the year 1187. The Austrian School in Rome has published a series of documents, which refer to similar contracts of indemnification between a commission of five cardinals and Romans of different regions. (*Stud. e Doc. di Storia e Diritto*, A. 1886.)

² *Dabitur Senatoribus—beneficia et presbyteria consuecta.* According to the *Ordo Roman.*, xii. n. ii., the Prefect received 40 *Solidos den.*, each Senator, judge and advocate *unum nulequinum* and some *Solidi*. A malachin was equal to eight grossi, the grossus to six denarii (valuation of the time of Innocent VI., from one of the first pages of the *Cod. Cenci* in the Riccardi library, n. 228). Instead of *dare presbyterium*, *dare manum* was used, from which the present *manca* is derived. Half the Senators dined with the Pope on festivals (*ibid.*, p. 170). The Pope, however, only gave presents to the fifty-six Senators; if there was a greater number, that which he gave to the remainder was *mera liberalitas*. This is said by the Senators themselves in the Instr. of May 28, 1191. (Muratori, *Ant. Ital.*, iv. 36.)

the Pope; this liberty, nevertheless, was taken for granted, since Rome was free. And although titles and honours of temporal authority were respectfully awarded him, the Pope found himself in his city in much the same position as did other bishops in other free cities. A formal agreement was concluded concerning the now papal towns of Tusculum and Tibur, the hatred of the Romans towards them being the actual reason for their treaty with the Pope. Clement III. unscrupulously sacrificed the unfortunate Tusculum, which had sought shelter under the wings of the Church, as the price of his peaceful return to Rome. He not only gave the Romans permission to make war on the fortress, but even promised them the aid of his vassals, and pledged himself to excommunicate the Tuscans should they fail to surrender to the Romans before January 1. The unfortunate city was to be destroyed, its property and people were to remain in the hands of the Pope.¹

The
Roman
constitu-
tion of
1188.

A special treaty with the captains established their relations with the Roman commune. We have no precise knowledge of its articles, but the great nobility were undoubtedly compelled to acknowledge the Senate, to take their part in the commune as *Cives*, and thus to contribute to the formation of the commune as a whole.²

¹ Concerning Tusculum, see Roger Hoveden, p. 689; we are obliged to take our information from an English chronicler, since Roman authorities are silent.

² *De Capitaneis sit saluum urbi et populo Romano, quicquid ab eis conventum est, et promissum Roma per scriptum et iuramenta, ac*

The Pope was to choose ten men out of every street (*contrada*) of every region in Rome, five of whom were to swear to the peace; the united Senate swore to the treaty itself.¹ We gather here that the Senate was composed of fifty-six members, some of whom formed the ruling committee of *Consiliarii*.²

The city itself, which was re-divided after the institution of the free Roman commune in 1144, now consisted of twelve regions. These divisions had no ordinal numbers, but merely local names, and were as follows: *Montium et Biberatice*; *Trivii et Vie Late*; *Columpne et S. Marie in Aquiro*; *Campi Martis et S. Laurentii in Lucina*; *Pontis et Scortecclariorum*; *S. Eustachii et Vineæ Teudemarii*; *Arenule et Caccabariorum*; *Parionis et S. Laurentii in Damaso*; *Pineæ et S. Marci*; *S. Angeli in Foro Piscium*; *Ripe et Marmorate*; *Campitelli et S. Adriani*. The Leonina remained, as an entirely papal district, outside the regions; not so, however, the Trastevere and the island in the Tiber, which, *plenarias, et stajarias, ac prisiones*—inexplicable expressions; *plenaria* (better so, instead of *plejaria*) may mean plenary powers.

¹ Of such treaties sworn to by a number of people we find a remarkable example in the treaty between Pisa and Genoa, February 13, 1188. (*Flaminio dal Borgo Diplomi Pisani*, 114.)

² I abide by the number fifty-six, although according to the text there were fifty-seven or fifty-eight. Owing to the defective punctuation two names may have easily been made out of one. It says first: *jussu Senatorum Consiliariorum*; *Angeli Ser Romani de Pinæ*; *Bodonis Stephani de Octaviano*; *Petri Stephani de Transiberim*; *Romani Senebaldi*; *Rainerii Rinaldi de Rannocio*; *Johannis de Schinando*; *Casari Bartholomei*; *Petri Nicolai Fusconis de Berta*; *Bodonis Donna Scotta*, et *Ilperini Donnici*. The Senators follow. There is neither a Pierleone, a Frangipane, nor a Colonna among them; there is, however, a *Petrus Latronis*.

formerly two regions, were afterwards counted as one—the thirteenth.¹

The constitution of 1188 showed a marked advance on the part of the Roman commune. The imperial authority of Carolingian times was as completely set aside as the patrician power of Frankish times. The rights of the Emperor in particular were left utterly unheeded. The ties between Rome and the empire were severed when the popes acquired the freedom of election. Frederick I. himself had disdained the votes of the Romans on his own election and finally in the treaty of Anagni, and with the renunciation of the prefecture he also renounced the exercise of the imperial power in the city. Rome had advanced beyond her ancient conditions; the Pope possessed neither governing nor legislative power; his secular position, on the contrary, was limited to the possession of regalia and Church property and to feudal relations. He was powerful because he still remained the greatest landowner, dispensed the greatest fiefs, and could command numerous "men." His authority as a territorial ruler consisted, however, merely in the investiture which he conferred on the freely-elected magistrates of the republic, or in the alliance of papal with civic justice

¹ The names of the regions are to be gathered for the most part from these treaties of peace of Clement III. They are brought together by Camillo Re, *l. c.* The twelve regions were again divided into contrade; a list of the regions found by De Rossi in a Viennese manuscript *Mirabilia*, written between 1216 and 1228, and printed by Re, consequently enumerates twenty-six regions or contrade: *sic duodecim principales regiones in urbe sunt ordinate que divise sunt in viginti sex.*

in cases of a twofold nature. The removal of the papal power by the unaided energy of the Roman commune is consequently one of the most honourable deeds in the history of the mediæval city, which could now again lay claim to the esteem of mankind in civic matters.

4. THE CRUSADE—RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION PASSES BY ROME—DEATH OF FREDERICK I.—CELESTINE III.—HENRY VI. REQUESTS THE IMPERIAL CROWN—HIS CORONATION—THE ROMANS DESTROY TUSCULUM—FALL OF THE TUSCULAN COUNTS—ATTITUDE OF THE NOBLES TOWARDS THE REPUBLIC IN ROME—CHANGE IN ITS CONSTITUTION—BENEDICT CARUSHOMO, SENATOR—GIOVANNI CAPOCCIO, SENATOR—GIOVANNI PIERLEONE, SENATOR—HENRY VI. DESTROYS THE NORMAN DYNASTY IN SICILY—HIS UNTIMELY END—DEATH OF CELESTINE III.

Crusade,
1189-1190.

In 1189 Clement III. succeeded in obtaining from Henry (who acted as his father's representative) the restitution of all the property belonging to the State of the Church of which Lucius had been deprived.¹ The Pope now concentrated all his attention on the great Crusade, in which at first the Emperor Frederick, and afterwards Philip Augustus, King of France, and Richard of England, took part. Roman nobles now also went to the East—a Pierleone and even the Prefect Theobald, both of whom fought by the side of Conrad of Montferrat against Saladin at

¹ Strassburg, April 3, 1189, Ficker, *Urk. zur Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte Italiens*, p. 216.

Acre.¹ None of the crusading armies came near Rome. And although Richard Cœur-de-Lion, who sailed from Marseilles in the beginning of August 1190, landed at Ostia, he dismissed the cardinal (who in the name of the Pope came with a polite invitation that he would honour the capital of Christendom by a visit) with a refusal. In a previous century no king would have declined the like invitation; on the contrary, a monarch would have considered himself fortunate in entering the gates of the sacred city, habited as a pilgrim, to visit the graves of the apostles. But times were changed. Richard, the successor of pious Anglo-Saxon kings, who in ancient days reached the summit of bliss when they took the cowl in Rome, contemptuously informed the cardinal that nothing was to be found at the papal court but avarice and corruption.² He passed the city by, marching along the wooded and marshy coast to Terracina,³ and thence sailed to Messina,

Richard
Cœur-de-
Lion
passes by
Rome.

¹ See the letter *Domno Papæ Theobaldus prefectus et Petrus Leonis* (in Radulf de Diceto, p. 648) which describes the battle of Acre, October 4, 1189.

² Roger de Wendower, *Chronica*, ed. Coxe, iii. 26.

³ Richard's journey is given by R. Hoveden, p. 667. From Pisa to *Talemude* (Cape Telamon); *Porte Kere* (Cære); past *Cornet Civitatem* (Corneto); *Senas la veile* (in this case Civita Vecchia by mistake, since this is the name given to Siena by Villani); *Le far de Rume* (the lighthouse of Rome); then to the Tiber. At the mouth of the river a beautiful solitary tower, and huge ruins of ancient walls (Ostia and Trajan's harbour). On August 26 through a forest *quod dicitur Selva dene* (the forest of Ardea), which is traversed for twenty-four miles *via Marmorea ad modum pavimenta facta* (the *Via Ardeatina* which was still preserved). He then continued his journey past the fortress Lettun (Nettuno and Antium), where was a harbour formerly covered with copper. Then to the Cap de Cercel (Circello), on

Death of
Frederick
Barba-
rossa,
June 10,
1190.

where he entered into negotiations with the Sicilians. On December 16, 1189, William II., husband of Richard's sister Johanna, had died, and the national party in the island had given the crown to Count Tancred, a natural son of Roger of Apulia, the eldest son of King Roger. Henry VI., husband of Constance, prepared to overthrow by force of arms the "usurper," who had received investiture from the Pope. He was, however, prevented by troubles in Germany in the first instance, and by the death of his father in the second. The aged Frederick, who had formerly wished that fate, instead of sending him to Italy, had sent him to Asia like Alexander the Great, met his death in a Syrian river on June 10, 1190.

The immortal hero Barbarossa, the true imperial Colossus of the Middle Ages, lives in German history as an object of national pride, in popular tradition as the symbol of the return of glory to the German empire. But in Italy, although the character of the age may afford some mitigation of his conduct, his ravages and the ruin of noble cities furnish plentiful grounds for hatred. The obstinate struggle of the empire against the cities, or the quarrel for civic investitures, was no less important and salutary than the contest for the spiritual investitures waged by the Henries. Had it not been for Frederick's despotic plans and wars, the freedom

which was a fortress of pirates. On from Tarracene to Garilla (the fortress Garigliano), and to the fortress *Le Cap del Espurun* (perhaps Sperlonga), *Hic est divisio terræ Romanor. et terra regis Sicilia in illa parte, quæ dicitur principatus Capua.*

of the cities would not have attained such rapid development, nor would these cities have won such speedy recognition of their political rights. Barbarossa, contrary to his intentions, rendered at least this service to Italy, which resisted him so valiantly. The long and fatal connection between Germany and Italy through the empire will be denounced by such men as judge universal history by the narrow measure of the prosperity of the Fatherland; outside this limited horizon the lament is vain and foolish. This only may we say, that, after the peace of Venice, Italy and Germany were already fully ripe for separation. By the Sicilian marriage, however, Frederick unfortunately reunited a tie that was already virtually severed, and the unity and power of Germany were thus uselessly sacrificed to the domestic policy of the imperial dynasty and were condemned afresh to tedious wars beyond the Alps.

The youthful Henry VI. coveted the imperial crown; his envoys hastened to the Pope and even to the Senate, whose vote again commanded respect, and the legal standing of which the King promised to recognise.¹ Clement III., troubled by the threats of Henry, who was irritated with the Pope for having given Sicily in fief to Tancred, fixed the coronation for the following Easter, but himself died at the end of March 1191.

The cardinals immediately elected the aged

¹ Roger Hoveden, p. 680: *H.—misit nuntios suos ad Clementem Papam, et ad Cardinales, et Senatores urbis: petens Romanum imperium, et promittens, se in omnibus leges et dignitates Romanorum servaturum illasas.*

Hyacinth, son of Peter Bobo, a Roman of the Orsini family, as Pope under the name of Celestine III.¹ Henry was already approaching with a large army, and Easter was at hand. The new Pope delayed his ordination in order to defer the coronation, concerning which negotiations were still pending. It was possible that the hostile attitude of the Senate might also prove a cause of delay, and Henry VI. used his most urgent entreaties in order that he might forthwith move against Sicily. The Romans availed themselves of these accidental circumstances to recover possession of Tusculum. The afflicted town had for three years made a desperate resistance against the united attacks of the Pope and the Senate; in their extremest need they had turned to Henry, begging for protection, and had accepted the German garrison which he readily gave them. The Roman envoys, however, declared that they would oppose his coronation unless he gave Tusculum into their hands; that on the contrary, if he yielded, they would obtain his immediate coronation from the Pope. Henry consented to this shameful breach of faith, but threw the responsibility on the Pope, who allowed himself to be bound by dishonourable conditions. The coronation over, Tusculum was to be given by Henry to the Pope, by the Pope to the Romans.²

Celestine
III., Pope,
1191-1193.

Henry
VI.'s ex-
pedition to
Rome,
1191.

¹ The *Filii Ursi, quond. Celestini Papæ Nepotes* appear in the *Vita Innoc. III.* (Muratori, *Antiq. It.*, iii. 784). The connection between the Boboni and Ursini is also shown by Grimaldi, *Cod. Vat.*, 6437, fol. 175.

² *Romani supplicarunt D. Celestino, ut antequam Regem in Imp. ungeret, obtineret ab ipso, ut civit. Tusculanensium sibi redderet—ex quo Clemens exposuit—illos Romanis.* R. Hoveden, p. 690. Gode-

Not until Henry drew near with a great military force did Clement allow himself to be ordained in S. Peter's on April 14, in order that he might, although unwillingly, perform the coronation the following day.¹ The King entered the Leonina from the Field of Nero. Celestine crowned him and his wife Constance in S. Peter's on April 15,² and the next day the Germans pitched their camp on the slopes of Tusculum. The unhappy town soon suffered a tragic fall. It was given back to the Pope and by him surrendered to its destroyers, and the Romans fell on their defenceless victim. Not a single stone was left upon another in the whole of Tusculum, while, contrary to faith and treaty, the inhabitants were strangled or banished into misery. Such was the wanton caricature of the celebrated destruc-

Henry VI.
is crowned
Emperor,
April 15,
1191.

frid. Monach. (Freher, i. 259): *consecratio procedere non potuit, donec Imp. castrum Tusculanum in potestatem Papæ et Romanorum contulidit. Sigeb., Cont. Aquicinct., ad an. 1191. Arnold of Lübeck, Chron. Slavor., iv. c. 4: The Pope wished to defer the coronation; the Romans, however, sent to the King: fac nobis justitiam de castellis tuis, quæ sunt in Tusculano—et erimus pro te ad D. Papam, ut coronam Imperii super caput tuum ponat.*

¹ On April 2, 1191, *H. VI. juxta locum Anguillarie* ratified the oath of security tendered to the Pope and cardinals by the princes of the empire, in his presence: *Rouleaux de Cluny, in Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. Imp., t. xxi. 326*, communicated by Huillard-Bréholles.

² Muratori, not to mention later writers, ridicules Hoveden's fable of the Pope having first held the crown between his feet, and then kicked it from the Emperor's head. Roger says: *Romani vero clauserunt portas urbis, et custodierunt eas in manu forti et armata, non permittentes eos intrare.* The ceremonial of the coronation is given from Cencius in *Mon. Germ. Leges*, ii. 187, and Watterich, ii. 711. There, as also in Töche, p. 187, it is shown that Emperor and Pope passed through the entire city to the Lateran.

The
Romans
destroy
Tusculum,
April 1191.

tions of Lodi, Milan, and Crema—a characteristic feature of this period of the emancipation and destruction of cities. Owing to the twofold treachery of Emperor and Pope, one of the oldest cities of Latium was destroyed for ever on April 17, 1191.¹ In ancient times it had in the Catos bestowed renowned patriots on its much more youthful neighbour; in the Middle Ages it had given it tyrants in the shape of rude consuls and patricians, the Tusculan counts, and popes, who, although for the most part bad, were some of them men of intellect and energy. The name of Tusculum is associated with the darkest period of mediæval Rome, and we cannot survey the melancholy ruins on the sunny heights without recalling memories of Marozia, the Alberics and Theophylacts.² The powerful family of the

¹ According to Hoveden, Henry gave it to the Pope the second day after his coronation; the Pope gave it to the Romans on the third, *atque a Romanis destructum ita, quod lapis supra lapidem non remansit*. Böhmer, n. 2761, shows that on April 17 Henry was *inter Urbem et Tusculanum*. On the 19th *in silva Libertina* (probably near Ferentino); on the 29th in *Ceperano*. Radulph de Diceto, *Ymagines Histor.*, p. 569: *paschali feria IV. Romani civit. Tuscul. funditus diruerunt*. Sicard, p. 615. Abbas Ursperg., p. 232: *pro qua re imperatori improperatum est a multis*. Godfried, *Annal.*, p. 259; *Anon. Cassin. Chron.* Mattei, *Memorie di Tuscolo*, p. 194, invents a story that the Romans restored the Capitol with the stones of Tusculum: they had indeed stones enough of their own. The account given by Platina and Blondus is more deserving of belief, viz., that they brought some remains of Tusculum as trophies to the Capitol. The keys of the town are said to have been hung up on the Arch of Gallienus. These and other tales are related by the uncritical historians of Tivoli (Viola, ii. 173).

² These ruins belong almost entirely to antiquity. No trace remains of the mediæval fortress and churches.

Counts of Tusculum disappeared or perhaps survived in branches in Rome and the Campagna, of which the Colonna is the most celebrated. These nobles also obtained possession of the ancient ancestral palace of the Tusculans beside S. Apostoli in Rome, where the counts had so frequently held their tribunals as Consuls of the Romans.¹

The property of the ruined city fell, according to treaty, to the Pope;² the remainder of the inhabitants went to swell the population of the surrounding district.³

The new Emperor marched from Rome to Apulia Henry VI.
to dethrone King Tancred, and the weak Celestine advances
to Apulia.

¹ Raino ceded Lariano to the Pope in exchange for Norma and Vicolo on October 12, 1179 (Murat., *Antiq. It.*, I. 141). According to the terms of a treaty between Cencius Frajapane, his brother Oddo, and Raino, in 1185, the former and the curia decided to surrender Terracina and Circegium to the latter for Tusculanum and Monte Cavo. Published by the Austrian School in Rome in *Studi e Doc.*, A. 886, *Doc. per la stor. eccl. e civile di Roma*, n. xxx. The Tusculans also lost Astura, of which the Frangipani were masters in 1193 (Cencius, fol. 121). Gigli pretends to have discovered an *Ottolinus Domini Rainonis Tusculani de S. Eustachio Senator* in 1197. A branch of the Tusculans, descended from Jordan, a son of Ptolemy, was settled in Gavignano in Volscian territory (A. 1181, Borgia, *Hist. di Velletri*, p. 247).

² This was documentarily attested by the Senate on April 19, 1191. *Actum XLVII. A. Senatus Ind. IX. m. Aprilis die XIX.* (Muratori, *Antiq. It.*, iii. 788). The act is signed by *Senatores Consilarii* and twenty-eight Senators.

³ Borgia (*History of Velletri*, p. 253) is of opinion that from this time Molara, Rocca di Papa, Rocca Pergiura (now Priora), and Castello di S. Cesario became populated. The fiction that Frascati owed its origin to huts covered with foliage (*frasche*), which sheltered the roofless Tusculans, has already been refuted. Frascati existed as early as the eighth century.

offered no opposition to his intention beyond useless prayers. The union of Sicily with the empire, which ran counter to all the traditional principles of the popes, was a source of trouble, but Celestine was powerless to prevent it. After rapid victories and heavy losses in Apulia, Henry VI. was obliged to return to Germany in 1191, and the Pope, rejoicing in his departure, ventured the less to infringe the treaty concluded with the Romans.¹ Celestine III. was the only Pope who for many years spent the whole of his pontificate in Rome. All exterior conditions favoured the continued existence of the republic, but interior circumstances prevented its vigorous development. Christian Rome was capable of transient ebullitions in favour of freedom and greatness, but was deprived of genuine manly civic virtues through the Papacy. The priest-ridden city no longer produced a citizen of the heroic stamp of antiquity. The unfortunate people, who were condemned to indolence, and whose year numbered more festivals than working days, lacked property because they lacked civic activity, and for this reason lacked also conscious dignity and force. The causes of the condition of the Romans are evident, and it was impossible that any people in the world could have permanently resisted their influence. The city guilds, if any survived, were too inconsiderable to

¹ In supplement to Böhmer I note the diploma in which Henry absolves Gubbio, *acta sunt hæc A.D. MCXCI. Ind. IX. Reg. D. Henrico Sex. invict. A. Reg. ejus XXII. Imp. primo. Dat. ante Neapolim per man. magni Henrici prothonot. Nonas Junii*. The original with a gold bull is in the Archives of Gubbio.

afford any support to the Roman middle class, which was poor and weak. It could not vanquish the patricians and captains, who, either allied with the Pope, or independent, now weakened, now shattered the republic.¹ Had the nobility been of the same mould as the nobility of Genoa and Venice, a permanent patrician government might have been formed in opposition to the popes, but the Roman nobles, engaged neither in commercial nor in agricultural pursuits, were for the most part illustrious beggars or vassals of the popes, of the bishops or the pious foundations in Rome. The Church had gradually reduced all these nobles to a state of vassalage, and had prevented, as far as she was able, the accumulation or settlement of family property.² The property of the wealthy was consequently insecure and passed from hand to hand. In reading the contracts of the time our surprise is awakened by the frequency with which fiefs and fortresses were bartered and exchanged. Only a few families,

¹ The guilds did not form themselves into political bodies until later; the guild of merchants probably earlier than the others. *Nos Pallo iudex mercatorum Urbis et Thomas de Oderiscis ejus consiliarius* . . . (*Mscr. Vatican.*, of Galletti, n. 8051, p. 35). Galletti places the instrument, which has no date, at the end of the twelfth century. *Judex* is here equivalent to the *consul mercatorum* in other cities.

² If hereditary nobles remained in possession of fortresses, necessity soon drove them into vassalage to the Church. On January 11, 1178, Adinulf and Landulf, sons of Gregory Pagani, ceded their rights over Falbateria to the Pope, who invested them with the fortress as *feudum* for twenty-nine years for 300 pounds. Noblemen thus became temporary tenants. Cencius, fol. 113, and from the Vatican original in *Studi e Doc.*, A, 1886, n. xxvi. On January 11 *Milo et Rainucius*, sons of Joh. Capparone, ceded *Civita Castellana* and *Montalto*, which they held in mortgage, to the Curia, n. xxxi.

such as the Colonna and Orsini, succeeded in founding actual hereditary lordships in the Campagna.

The
Roman
nobles
enter the
commune.

When, after the peaces of Venice, of Constance and of Rome, the nobles perceived that the commune was acquiring stability, they renounced their previous system of obstruction. The former consuls entered the commune to make it aristocratic; members of the nobility filled the Senate, where it was easy for them to obtain election. After 1143, the majority of the Senate was entirely plebeian; nobles entered it by degrees, and after the time of Clement III. and Celestine III. it numbered more patricians of ancient lineage than burghers or knights.¹ The competition for the Senate was so great that the normal number of members (fifty-six) was soon overstepped.²

In consequence of these altered conditions a revolution took place in 1191; the populace revolted against the aristocracy, overthrew the constitution, and placed, as in ancient times, a single man at the

¹ The Acts show that the majority of the Senators at this time were members of ancient families: Sassoni, Astaldi, Astolfi, Anibaldi, Oddi, Tebaldi, Senebaldi, Franconi, Rainerii, Gulserani, Farulfi, Berardi, Roffredi, Gerardi, Bulgamini (all these are German): Mancini, Sarraceni, Romani, Rustici, Sergii (probably Byzantine), Boboni, Ursini, Scotti, Cafarelli, Curtebraca, Muti, Tosti, Ottaviani, Parenzii, Buonfiglioli, Capoccia, Manetti, Papazurri, Pierleoni, Frangipani, Stefani, Malebranca, Latroni, Paparoni, Crescencii, Cencii. Only Corsi, Massimi, Normanni, or Conti do not appear in the Senate in documents at this period, but this, we believe, is merely an accident. The Frangipani recognised the Senate from 1188; in 1191 Petrus Johannis Fraiapani is found amongst the Consiliatorii.

² *Senatoribus, qui sunt supra numerum quinquaginta sex Senatorum. Qui numerus in fine predecessorum ejusd. Celestini summi Pont. definitus continetur.* Instrum. of May 28, 1191 (Murat., *Ant. It.*, iv. 36).

head of the Government. This may have been done in imitation of other cities, which towards the end of the century had entrusted the authority to a sole ruler, instead of to the hitherto ruling consuls. The Romans no longer called the head of their republic *Patricius*, nor as in other Italian towns *Podestà*, but *Senator* or *Summus Senator*. This dignity they bestowed on Benedict Carushomo, a man undoubtedly of middle-class origin, who had seized the power during a revolt. The government of many had shown itself weak; the rule of the one immediately proved strong, for the Senator Benedict deprived the Pope of all revenues both inside and outside the city, and appointed his judges in the provincial districts also.¹ The Pope would not at first recognise Benedict, but he afterwards yielded and consented to the change in the constitution.

Benedict
Carus-
homo,
Summus
Senator,
1191.

Rome perhaps owes to this Senator the first municipal statute which it issued and which was ratified by the entire people.² A few isolated notices concerning Benedict's activity have come down to us.

¹ *Et status Rom. Eccl. pessimus erat pro eo, quod a tempore Benedicti Cariscum (sic!) Senatum Urbis perdiderat, et idem Benedictus, se ipsum faciens Senatorem, subtraxerat illi Maritimam et Sabiniam, suos Justiciarios in illis constituens. Gesta Innoc. III., in Baluzius, l. c., 8. Moreover, Ep. Innoc., lib. ii. n. 239: sapientissimus enim B. cum seipsum intruserit in senatoriam dignitatem, nec apost. sedis favorem habuerit, ad quam institutio pertinet Senatorum,—tamen ab ea fuit tempore procedente receptus.*

² This is evident, as Vendettini remarks, in the words of the above quoted letter of Innocent: *Dictus autem B. Carosemi, quoniam statutum quoddam emiserat, a populo Rom. approbatum . . .* the tenor of the statute, relating to a legal case, follows. It was undoubtedly one of a series. Genoa possesses statutes of the year 1143;

And it might perhaps have gratified the energetic Senator to know that his memory is still preserved in a monumental inscription in Rome. His office lasted about two years; he was then overthrown in a revolt and was long kept a prisoner on the Capitol.¹

Giovanni
Capoccio,
Senator.

Giovanni Capoccio was now created sole Senator.² This Roman belonged to one of the families of the smaller nobility, who owned towers beside S. Martino and Silvestro, some of which still remain erect. He also governed with energy.³ On his retirement he was succeeded in office by Giovanni Pierleone.⁴ A fresh revolution took place, however, about 1197; the

Giovanni
Pierleone,
Senator.

those of Pistoja are perhaps still older. *Mon. Hist. ad Provincias Parmensem et Placentinam pertinentia*, Parma, 1855, i., Preface, and Raggi's Preface to the Genoese Statutes in *Mon. Histor. Patria, Leggi Municipali*, p. 236. The first statutes of the consuls of Pisa date from 1162 (Bonaini, *Statuti inediti della Città di Pisa dal XII. al XIV. secolo*, Flor., 1859, t. i. and iii. : ii. is missing).

¹ *Invidiam contra se excitat Romanorum—in Capitolio obsidetur et capitur, captusque diu in custodia tenetur.* (*Recueil XVIII. ex Chronologia Kob. Altissiodorensis*, p. 260.)

² He witnesses an Act of Henry VI, in Monte Fiascone on October 28, 1196, in which appear *Petrus alme urbis Præf., Joannes Capuaneus* (read *Capoccius*) *Senator Romanus.* Muzi, *Memorie civili di Città di Castello*, i. 19.

³ Roger Hov., p. 746: *Benedictus Carnshomo, qui regnavit super eos duobus annis, et deinde habuerunt alium Senatorem, qui vocatur est Johannes Capuche, qui . . . regnavit . . . aliis duob. annis, in quorum temporib. melius regebatur Roma, quam nunc temporib. 56 Senatorum.* *Mscr. Vat.*, 7934, contains the history of the Capocci written by Joh. Vincentius Capoccius in 1623; it is of very little use for the early period. The family, which, according to the author, came from Florence, does not appear in Rome before 1073.

⁴ That Pierleone succeeded Capoccio is shown by Ep. n. 239, *Innocentii III.*, which speaks, in connection with Capoccio, of the *tempora Johannis Petri Leonis Senatoris Urbis.* According to the same letter, Pierleone was succeeded by several Senators: *ejus jurisdictio erat in*

old constitution of fifty-six Senators and the executive committee of Consiliatores was restored. And since the Senate was at this time essentially composed of captains, the change must have been due to the feudal nobility themselves.¹

In the struggle of factions in the commune and in the mania for novelty, peculiar to all democracies, lay the Pope's only hope; he therefore prudently left the Romans to themselves. The Papacy was severely threatened, Henry VI. having subjugated Sicily after King Tancred's death in 1194. The perfidy with which this unscrupulous prince exterminated the last descendants of the Norman dynasty and the Norman nobility roused the national feeling of Italy.² The Lombards, menaced by a new imperial despotism, saw the freedom which they had so heroically acquired threatened with ruin. Henry, as formerly his father, bestowed the public offices in Italy on

Henry VI.
subjugates
Sicily, 1194

proximo desitura, supplicatum fuit ob eandem causam successoribus ejus Senatoribus jam electis.

¹ Roger Hoveden wrongly places the restoration of the fifty-six Senators in the year 1194. Another revolution took place immediately after, and one Senator was appointed; the *Gesta Innoc.*, c. vii., show that when Innocent III. was ordained, there was only one Senator: *comitantibus prefecto et Senatore.*

² We may admire the audacity of Henry's schemes, but they do not alter our moral judgment of his conduct. Even Töche cannot exonerate him from participation in the murder of Bishop Albert, and is forced to censure his cruel treatment of Salerno (in 1194), as also of the Sicilians, and his unchivalrous conduct towards Richard. Carl Lohmeyer, *De Richardo Anglia Rege cum in Sicilia commorante, tum in Germania detento*: Königsberg, 1857. Ad. Cohen, *Heinrich VI., Rom. und Unteritalien, Forschung. z. Deutsch. Gesch.*, vol. i. Further the calm judgment of E. Winkelmann, *Philipp von Schwaben und Otto IV.* (1873), i., Introduction.

He occupies the State of the Church and strives to restore the imperial rights.

Germans; he made his brother Philip Duke of Tuscany and invested him with the estates of Matilda.¹ Conrad of Uerslingen had already received Spoleto in fief, and the General Markwald the Romagna and the Marches. Henry's power encompassed the State of the Church like a ring of iron. He occupied the Patrimonium as far as the very gates of Rome.² With more than youthful intrepidity, with foolish exaggeration, the son of Barbarossa conceived the ideal of the empire; he dreamed of the restoration of imperial universal supremacy, of the enslavement of Italy, of the destruction of the Gregorian Papacy. He wished to recover the imperial rights in Rome which his father had renounced, and, endowed as he was with a spirit so energetic, he would undoubtedly have succeeded had he been granted a longer life. The City Prefect maintained a lasting opposition to the Pope, whose official he refused to be. His position hitherto, owing to the imperial investiture, had been too independent and respected for him calmly to bear the prospect of its loss. We consequently find the prefects at this

¹ On July 31, 1195, he calls himself *Philippus dux Tuscie et domini totius poderis comitis Matildis*: Böhmer, *Reg. Imp.*, ed. Ficker (1879).

² *Gesta Innoc. III.*, c. 8: *H.*—*occupaverat totum regnum Sicilia, totumq. patrim. Eccl. usque ad portas Urbis, præter solam Campaniam, in qua tamen plus timebatur ipse quam Papa.* Roger Hoveden, p. 773, knows of a war between the Romans and Markwald in the Marchia Guarnerii (in 1197). As early as 1185 we find *Conradus Dux Spoleti et Comes Assissi* in a document (Fatteschi, *Mem. di Spoleto*, p. 124). An inscription in the cathedral in Terni of 1187 gives him this title, and speaks of *Consules Terannenses* (Angeloni, *Hist. di Terni*, p. 85).

time constantly in Henry's retinue, which they purposely hastened to join. Henry VI. also drew the Frangipani to his side. The Frangipani, at this time the most powerful vassals of the Church, opposed a permanent defiance to the popes, who were obliged to leave them in possession of the seaport of Terracina. Here they ruled as despots and frequently soothed the rebellious commune by treaties.¹

In November 1196 the Emperor set forth on his last expedition to Sicily, accompanied by the Prefect Peter, by Markwald and Conrad of Spoleto, and marched through Roman territory to Tivoli, Palestrina, and Ferentino.² He did not touch Rome, but

¹ See the peace between them and Terracina, June 28, 1185 (Contatore, ii. c. 1); true, it says *salva fidelitate, et mandato D. Pape et Rom. Curie vid. Cardinalium*; but this was not of much importance. *Nos Terracinese jurans vobis D. Leoni, et D. Roberto, et D. Henrico, et D. Manuelli et vestris heredibus, quod ab hoc die in antea erimus vestri recti fideles*. That Henry VI. maintained the Frangipani in their dominion over Terracina is shown by Contatore. These Consuls of the Romans seem to have been hereditary Counts Palatine of the Lateran.

² He was in Tivoli on November 16, in Palestrina on November 27, in Ferentino on December 4. Töche, Suppl. i. Peter was Prefect in 1191 (Miræus, *Op. diplom.*, i. c. 68, where a diploma of Henry VI. *ante Neapolim XV. Kal. Julii* is signed *Petrus Urbis R. Præf.*). According to Godefrid. Monach., Otto was Prefect in 1192; he says that Constance *per Ottonem ill. Romanor. præf. Imperatori redditur*. The Prefect Otto Frangipane has already been mentioned in 1186. We found the Prefect Theobald in the Crusade of 1189; the Pope had probably invested him with the office in 1188, and Otto remained rival Prefect in Henry's camp. Peter is again Prefect in 1195 (Murat., *Ant. It.*, ii. 809). He also appears in the diploma of Henry VI., November 1, 1196, *apud Fulgineum: Petrus præf. urbis et Tebaldus frater ejus, et Marquardus dapifer Marchio Anconæ* (*Memorie Lucchesi*, iii. 134). Jordan Petri Leonis fought as captain on Tancred's side against Count Bertold (*Chron. Fosse Nov.*, A. 1190).

Death of
Henry VI.,
1197.

from Tivoli held negotiations with the Pope concerning the coronation of his little son Frederick, which he anxiously desired.¹ Rome was suffering from a famine, and the Pope begged Henry to relieve it by supplies of corn.² The ill-treated Sicilians rose against the tyranny of the Emperor, whose own wife joined the rebels. Henry quenched the insurrection with an inhumanity unparalleled save in the history of Asiatic sultans; but after having reduced the flourishing kingdom to a desert, he was himself removed by death. Henry VI., in whom some of the great qualities of a ruler were united with unscrupulous want of honour, avarice, and the barbarism of a despot, died at the age of thirty-two at Messina, on September 28, 1197. He was followed to the grave by Celestine III. on January 8, 1198. The heir of the dread power of the empire was a helpless child, under the guardianship of a bigoted Sicilian mother; the heir of the impotent Pope, however, was one of the greatest characters in the annals of the Papacy.

The good fortune of the Church was unbounded.³

¹ Töche, p. 436.

² S. Löwenfeld, *Ep. Pont. Rom. ined.*, n. 421.

³ The gigantic work of the *Annals* of Baronius ends with the death of Celestine III. I shall begin Vol. V. with Innocent III. It has been granted me to write every line of this history in the deep silence of Rome, and I deem myself happy in having been able to pursue the work during this memorable Present, which has given a new direction to the fortunes of the illustrious city. [This volume was begun on November 8, 1860, and was finished on April 27, 1862. Victor Emmanuel entered Naples on November 7, 1860. Gaeta capitulated February 13, 1861, and Francis II. and his Queen took refuge in Rome. Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy, March 14, 1861; Cavour died June 6, 1861.—TRANSLATOR.]

CHAPTER VII.

- I. ABSENCE OF CULTURE IN ROME IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY—THE LAW OF JUSTINIAN—CANON LAW—COLLECTION OF ALBINUS—THE *LIBER CENSUUM* OF CENCIUS—THE CONTINUATIONS OF THE *BOOK OF THE POPES*—DEARTH OF ROMAN HISTORIANS—THE DESCRIPTION OF S. PETER'S BY MALLIUS; OF THE LATERAN BY JOHN DIACONUS.

THROUGHOUT the entire course of the twelfth century the intellectual life of Rome remained half barbarous as before; a fact which is sufficiently explained by the continued struggles of the Church with the emperors, or with the Roman people, the almost constant exile of the popes, and a series of revolutions in the city.

In the twelfth century the sacred chair was occupied by distinguished men, but among the sixteen popes who filled it, only four, and these by no means the greatest, were Romans by birth. Several of these men had received their education abroad, more especially in France, where, during the time of Abelard, Paris had become a celebrated school of dialectics and theology. We have already spoken of the close ties which existed between Rome and France after the time of the Frenchman Urban II. If in earlier times the order of Cluny

had been the means of uniting the two countries, the great reorganisation of monasticism under Bernard of Clairvaux in the twelfth century made this alliance firmer and more permanent. Political and ecclesiastical relations closely bound the Papacy to a country which constantly offered it shelter. The whole of Italy, at enmity with Germany, maintained an intellectual intercourse with France, and it is significant of the period that the greatest genius among Italians of the age, the scholastic theologian Peter Lombard, not only taught in Paris, but died there as bishop in 1160.

We have seen the influence of the contrary doctrines of two celebrated Frenchmen in Rome; a pupil of S. Bernard ascended the sacred chair, a pupil of Abelard imparted his own enthusiasm for political ideas. If a cardinal had formerly complained that poverty prevented the Romans from frequenting foreign schools, and had thus explained their ignorance, things were entirely different in the first half of the twelfth century. Many noblemen's sons went to Paris to study.¹ In Rome itself, however, neither the presence of the learned Bernard nor the foundation of his monastery ad Aquas Salvias, nor the French education of several popes did anything to promote learning. Neither the Acts of the Council, nor any other notices throughout the entire century show that anything was done for the cause

¹ *Roma tibi suos docendos trans mittebat alumnos, et quæ olim omnium artium scientiam solebat infundere, sapientiorum te esse sapiente, &c.*, thus writes Falco to Abelard (in Tiraboschi, iii. 275). This applies also to succeeding times.

of literature; for a praiseworthy decree of Alexander III. of the year 1179, which ordained that every cathedral church should found free schools for the clergy and poor scholars, had only a general application.¹

Calixtus II. found Rome sunk in a state of barbarism that must have moved him to despair. Other learned popes had been prevented from devoting any permanent attention to educational institutions by the brevity of their reigns or their disputes with the commune. Since the time of the reformer-popes, the holy chair had been surrounded by the best energies of the Church, and the College of Cardinals invariably numbered men prominent for theological attainments. These men, however, seldom belonged to Rome. In no single department of culture had Rome produced a citizen of conspicuous ability during the twelfth century, nor had a school of any reputation flourished within her walls.

The period is rendered memorable, however, by the revival of the science of Roman law. That the Pisans captured in Amalfi the only copy of the Pandects existing in Italy in 1135, and that the discovery gave rise to a revival of the study of jurisprudence, is, it is true, merely a fable. The knowledge of the law of Justinian had never been lost in Italy. But during the eleventh, and still more during the twelfth, century the study of law received an additional impulse. We have seen both emperors and republicans appeal to the laws of Justinian as a foundation for their claims. The

¹ *Concil. Lateran.*, A. 1179, Capit. xviii. (Tiraboschi, iii. 248).

Italian municipal constitution repudiated its historical beginning, in order to discover its origin in Roman law. It might have been supposed that Rome would have been the natural soil for the pursuit of this study, since the Code of Justinian had never been set aside in Rome through German invasion. Since Lothar's Constitution of 824, and since the time of the Ottos, the foreign national codes became gradually disregarded in the city until, under the Emperor Conrad, Roman law alone prevailed. The *Judex Romanus*, which received its name from Roman law, had been uninterruptedly taught in schools, by means of compendia, since ancient times. And if other Italian cities now zealously prosecuted the study of the law of Justinian, the restored Senate on the Capitol had surely still greater occasion to study it. Is it not probable that this study was revived with vigour in Arnold's time? The Senators, who wrote to Conrad, showed themselves well versed in ancient legal ideas. The monks in the abbey of Grotta Ferrata also gave evidence of their knowledge of the law of Justinian, when in 1140 they laid their complaint against the house of Tusculum before the Pope.¹ It is consequently impossible to doubt that Rome produced learned commentators on the Pandects. No school of law on a large scale, however, existed in the city. This honour was left to the University of Bologna, which in the twelfth century enjoyed the protection of Frederick I., and where celebrated jurists, such as Irnerius, Bulgarus,

¹ *Studi e Docum. di Storia e Diritto*, 1886, Alibrandi, *Osservazioni giuridiche sopra il ricorso de' monaci di Grottaferrata*. . . .

Martinus, Jacopus, and Hugo, gathered around them pupils from every country to found a new science.

The marked division of the city from a legal standpoint into two bodies, the civil and canonical, could be explained by the great preponderance of the ecclesiastical element and by the insignificance of the Roman School of jurists; but Canon law itself was preferably taught at Bologna. About the year 1140 Gratian, a Tuscan, here founded a more complete collection of ecclesiastical laws than had hitherto existed. This celebrated law book of the Middle Ages remains, now that criticism has long exposed the fictions contained within it, the legal colossus of barbarism and darkness, under whose spell mankind lay for so many centuries. It falsified the legal conceptions of Church and State in order to secure the dominion of the world to the Papacy.¹

The
collection
of Canons
of Gratian.

Collections of another kind are important for the fuller understanding of the civil economy of the Church of that period. Precisely at this time the need was keenly felt of decisively establishing every thing that belonged to the regalia of the sacred chair, whose right to its possessions was disputed

¹ Gratian compiled the *concordia discordantium canonum* in the monastery of S. Felix at Bologna; he therein accepts the ancient falsehoods concerning Constantine's Donation and the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, as well as other fictions. His predecessors were Regino, Burkhard of Worms, Ivo of Chartres, and the Gregorians Deusdedit and Anselm of Lucca. Sarti, *de Claris Archigymnas. Bonon. professoribus*, i. 247. Bernard of Pavia, under Alexander III., added the *decretalia Pontificum*, until Gregory IX. completed the collection.

on so many different sides. The popes ordered the collection of all documents that referred to the *Dominium Temporale* from the time of its foundation. The Archives of the Lateran and ancient and modern collections showed great gaps, for many of the documents had vanished and others had been falsified. Of the oldest registers of the administration of the Church domains before Pipin's time nothing had been preserved. We noticed the first collection of this kind made by Cardinal Deusdedit. And as the Papacy now beheld its property endangered by the dispute concerning Matilda's patrimony and the claims made by the city of Rome to the regalia of S. Peter, documentary proofs of the rights of the sacred chair were largely collected. The task was set on foot by a cleric called Albinus in the time of Lucius III.¹

His comprehensive work was resumed in 1192 by Cencius, a Roman of the Savelli family and Chamberlain under Clement III. and Celestine III. His surname of Camerarius was frequent after the time of Honorius III., and shows that the administration of the papal finances was conducted by the director of the Apostolic Chamber who bore this title.² Cencius compiled the register of the rents of the Church,

¹ *Gesta pauperis Scholaris Albini*. Cod. Ottobon., 3057, a beautiful parchment MS. He had already collected Canons to complete Gratian's nine books; he then came to Rome, where Lucius III. made him a deacon. Concerning him, see Cenni, *Monum.*, I. præfat. n. 25, and tom. ii.

² Later called Cardinal Camerlengo. With respect to these matters, see A. Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica des 15 Jahrh.*, Innsbrück, 1889.

in which the total revenues of the Lateran Camera from every province were noted. The earlier *Liber Censuum* of Albinus consequently begins with the *Provinciale*, or geographical review of the provinces and cities of the former Roman empire. The *Orbis Romanus* of the *Notitia* had thus become the *Orbis Ecclesiasticus*, and the papal Lateran continued the geographical registers of ancient imperial Rome.¹

The *Liber Censuum* of Cencius Camera-rius.

We observe that the rents were extraordinarily small in the *Book of Revenues*, although the great number of people who were obliged to pay tribute made the total a large one. The bulk of the revenue was derived from churches and convents in different parts of the world, which stood under papal patronage and law, and which paid an annual "pension" for the privilege. Rents were, moreover, received from bishops, princes, nobles, and castles, from which tribute was exacted under various titles. The great register of these taxes is consequently in the highest degree instructive.²

¹ The Codex of Cencius begins: *Incipit liber censuum Rom. Eccl. a Cencio Camerario compositus, secundum antiquorum patrum Regesta et memorialia diversa. A. incarn. dni MCXCII. Pont. Celestini Pp. III. A. II.* The *Liber Censuum* of Albinus (*De redditibus omnium Provinciarum et Ecclesiar., qui debentur Rom. Eccl.*) has been edited by Cenni (*Mon.*, ii.) with the *Provinciale*; the *Liber Censuum* of Cencius by Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, v. 852-908. No complete edition of Cencius has ever been published. The *Cod. Riccardianus* of the thirteenth century in Florence deserves notice. A second codex in the same library dates from 1388. Rome possesses several MSS. of Cencius, the oldest of which is that of the Vatican, 8486: Paul Fabre, *Étude sur un Mscr. du liber Censuum, Ecole franç. de Rome, Mélanges*, 1883, p. 328 f. P. Fabre began the edition of Cencius in 1890.

² England alone annually paid 300 marks *de denario b. Petri*. Swe-

The *Liber Censuum* further contains leases from the eighth century onwards; donations and privileges since the time of the Carolingians;¹ the Norman oath of vassalage; treaties with princes, nobles, and cities; treaties of the popes with the emperors and the city of Rome; formulæ of oaths taken by bishops, judges, senators, and castellans; the *Ordo Romanus*, or the *Book of Ritual*, the inventory of all ceremonies and regulations belonging to Church festivals, the election and consecration of popes and bishops, the coronation of the emperor and of kings;² fragments from the regesta of the popes; a papal chronicle; and even the *Mirabilia*, or the description of the city, are given by Benedict, Albinus, and Cencius.

den and Norway: *singuli lare, monetam ejusdem terre.*—*Rex Sicilie debet pro Apulia, Calabria et Marsia 1000 scifatos.* Genoa paid a pound of gold yearly for Corsica; Aragon, 500 mancusi of gold. The revenues from Rome are insignificant: only the rent of five churches and a Marabotin from the tower at the *pons Judæorum* are registered. From the *Campania Terra Domini Papa* the Bishops of Anagni, Ferentino, Alatri, and Veroli furnished sixty yards of cloth and 200 porringers (*Scutellas*) at every papal coronation. The manufactures of cloth and pottery are still the only industries of this district. Ostia furnished two ship-loads of wood; Anticoli 4. *Scapulas porcinas, et solidos XX., et L. placentas in festo Nativitatis.* Many Italian churches paid *in natura*, wax, pepper, cloth, wood, cakes, incense, oil. The rents from the *feuda* of the barons are not noticed; and they were insignificant.

¹ They begin with the well-known *Hadrianus Papa optinuit a Karolo rege Francorum et patricio Romanor.* The Donation of Constantine is at the end; nor is Matilda's bequest absent.

² Several books of ritual are edited by Mabillon in his *Mus. Italicum*. The *Ordo* of Benedict, a Canon of S. Peter's under Innocent II., is specially deserving of notice; then follow the *Ordines* of Albinus and Cencius.

These works thus contain a wealth of material badly transcribed and unsystematically compiled. They are of priceless value in the history of the city; for since the papal regesta of these centuries perished, and since these regesta, as the letters of Gregory VII. show, only referred to ecclesiastical affairs, the relations of the Papacy to the State of the Church would, in the absence of these collections, have remained completely unknown to us. Through their means alone have we any knowledge of the papal household, of the system of administration and feudal relations, and of many other matters of practical and historical interest. The collections of Albinus and Cencius are consequently the most important foundation for a diplomatic codex concerning the *Dominium Temporale* of the Popes, and are therefore of imperishable value.¹

Of the actual writing of history in Rome there was no thought during these centuries. The sole work of the kind consisted in the official continuation of the recognised *Catalogue of the Popes*. One-sided although the character of these biographies in the twelfth century may be, they are nevertheless highly valuable on account of their official character, and

Continuation of the
Liber Pontificalis.

¹ The collection of Albinus does not extend beyond Adrian IV. That of Cencius was continued into the fourteenth century, and immensely amplified. The work was resumed by the Cardinal of Aragon (who died in 1362). Theiner's *Cod. Dipl. Dominiis Temporalis S. Sedis* (begun in 1861, in three volumes) owed its origin to a similar necessity. Although incomplete, it possesses the merit of presenting for the first time a great number of documents collected in chronological order; for the similar work undertaken by Platina in the time of Sixtus IV. remained unpublished.

from the fact that they were occasionally compiled by men belonging to the Curia, who had taken part in the actions which they describe. The writers were occasionally stirred by great events to forsake the traditional style of the *Catalogues* and to give a greater amplitude to their work. The lives of the popes from Victor III. to Honorius II. were compiled by their contemporaries Peter and Pandulf of Pisa, men who rise above all previous contributors to the *Liber Pontificalis*. The biographies of Paschalis II. and Gelasius II. are more especially distinguished by the number of facts, and in their simple brevity are occasionally dramatic. They are interesting from the fact that the authors had taken part in the events they relate.¹

The schism of Anaclete II. put an end to these biographies, since both authors embraced the cause of the anti-pope.² The continuation of the *Liber Pontificalis* after Innocent II. again assumes its former character of a catalogue, and only with the life of Adrian IV. and the important reign of Alexander III. (although only until the peace of Venice) are the biographies given in greater detail by a well informed contemporary.³

¹ See the *All. Monatschrift für Wiss. und Lit.* (April 1852), where Giesebrecht has treated these sources of papal histories.

² Papebroch, *l. c.*, p. 207. Peter of Pisa was one of the three cardinals who defended Anaclete before Roger. Bernard later effected a reconciliation between him and Innocent. Manrique, *Annal. Cisterc.*, A. 1137, 1138, c. 1.

³ These *Vitæ* were first printed by Baronius as *acta vaticana*. (*Cod. Vat.*, 1437). It is the same *Book of the Popes* which was published by Muratori under the name of the Cardinal of Aragon (died 1362); a

During the whole of the tumultuous course of the twelfth century Roman historiography produced nothing beyond these fragmentary records. Neither in the convents of the city nor (with the exception of Fossa Nova and Subiaco) in the convents of Roman territory was any chronicle compiled at this period. Godfrey of Viterbo, who sung Frederick's deeds in a poem, and framed a chronicle of universal history under the title of *Pantheon*, must be reckoned as belonging to that town, although the origin of his family is unknown. It is much to be regretted that while the rest of Italy produced important historical works, due in part to cultivated statesmen in the flourishing cities, the revolution in Rome found no annalist.¹ While the judge Falco wrote the chronicle of Benevento in 1140; while the Consul Caffaro was commissioned by his State to compile the annals of Genoa; while Bernard Mar-

separate continuation of the *History of the Popes* from Stephen V. to Alexander III. A portion of it was transcribed by Cencius as the *Chronica Romanor. Pontif.* Giesebrecht shows that the author was Boso, an Englishman and the nephew of Adrian IV., whose life and that of Alexander III. were written by him. He was Cardinal of S. Cosma and Damiani in 1159 and Magister Camerarius. (Muratori, *Ant.*, i. 675.) The *Vita P.*, under the name of the Cardinal of Aragon, were, it is believed, compiled between 1254 and 1265. P. Fabre (*École fr., Mélanges*, 1886, p. 157). The *Liber Pontificalis* again stops with the pontificate of Alexander III.

¹ The *Annales Romani* (*Cod. Vat.*, 1984, published by Pertz, *Mon. Germ.*, vii., then by Duchesne in the *Lib. Pont.*, vol. ii., 1889), partly the work of writers of imperial sympathies, are scarcely to be called annals. The revolution in Rome is not touched upon in them, the period after Calixtus II., with the exception of a fragment concerning Barbarossa, remains unnoticed. Bethmann, *Archiv. der Gesell. für deutsche Gesch.*, xi. 841.

angone wrote the earliest chronicle of Pisa; while two judges of Lodi, Otto and Acerbus Morena, and the Milanese Sir Raoul described Frederick's deeds, and Hugo Falcando put together a valuable fragment of the Norman history of Sicily (from 1154 to 1169), there were unfortunately in Rome neither laymen nor clerics to emulate men such as these.

Peter
Mallius.

Priests instead compiled some writings of a documentary nature about their churches. The ancient basilicas of the city, like kingdoms, found their historians in the course of time, and what could offer more attractive material than S. Peter's and the Lateran? Peter Mallius, Canon of S. Peter's, wrote a description of this basilica, which he dedicated to Alexander III. An accurate account of the temple in the twelfth century would have been of great value, but Mallius's document is nothing more than a meagre collection of notices. It goes back to the building under Constantine, and dwells at length on Charles and his donation of the State of the Church. Mallius's chief aim was to prove by documents the foundation of the rights of his cathedral, and this, as also the enumeration of buildings and votive gifts, was taken from the *Liber Pontificalis* and the papal regesta. In his little pamphlet are collected historical and statistical matters, details of ritual, descriptions, the list of the papal tombs, the inscriptions of which he has preserved; and even in its imperfection the work is remarkable and instructive as the first independent monograph treating of S. Peter's.¹

¹ Mallius's work was published for the first time by De Angelis as

Its pendant is the oldest description of the Lateran basilica, by John, a canon of this church. It was compiled by command of Alexander III., and is of no slight value for the history of the Lateran, more especially after the reconstruction of the church by Sergius III.¹

These monographs are based on a twofold species of literary production of the time, the *Ordines Romani*, or ritual books of the Church, and the *Mirabilia*. Mallius drew portions from both one

Descriptio Basil. Veteris Vaticanae, Rome, 1646; then better by Janning as *Hist. Basil. Antiquae S. Petri Apost. in Vat. (Acta Sctor., vii. Jun., pp. 37-56)*. See concerning him De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. Urbis Romae*, vol. ii. pars. i. (1888) p. 193 f. Not until the fifteenth century was the description of S. Peter's continued by Maffei Vegius (*De Rebus antiquis memorabil. Basilica S. Petri Romae*). The literature produced concerning the cathedral from this time onwards would fill a small library.

¹ *Johannis Diaconi lib. de eccl. Lateran.* (Mabillon, *Mss. Ital.*, ii. 560). Appendices are added until *sec. 13*; a description is inserted of S. Maria Maggiore. Alexander III. probably had books of this kind compiled for all five basilicas. It agrees with Mallius in many points. According to him there were eighteen diaconates: S. Adrianus. Agatha in Equo Marmoreo. S. Angelus. Cosma et Damianus. Eustachius. Georgius. Lucia in Circo juxta Septa Solis. Lucia in capite Subura (juxta Orphea). Maria Nova; in Dominica; in Scola Greca; in Porticu; in Aquiro; in Via Lata. Nicol. in Carcere. Quiricus. Sergius et Bacchus. Theodorus. Twenty abbeys: Alexius. Agatha in Subura. Anastasius. Basilus juxta Palatium Trajani Imp. Blasius in cantu secula. Casarius in Palatio. Cosma et Dam. in Vico Aureo (Trastevere). Gregorius in Clivo Scauri. Laurentius in Panisperna. S. Maria in Pallara; in Castro Aureo. Pancratius in Via Aurelii. Saba. Silvester inter duos hortos. Thomas juxta Formam Claudiam. Trinitatis Scottorum. Valentinus in Via Flaminia. There were besides smaller convents which are found in the *Ordo Rom.*, xii., according to which at the end of the twelfth century Rome had about 300 churches and convents.

and the other. Thus he borrows from them the following account of the Vatican Borgo and Tomb of Hadrian. "The grave of Romulus, which is called Meta, stands in the Naumachia near S. Maria in Transpontina; it was panelled with the magnificent stone of which the staircase of S. Peter's is constructed. It is surrounded with a travertine pavement of twenty feet, with a cloaca, and with its flower-garden. The Terebinthus of Nero stands in its neighbourhood, as high as the fortress of S. Angelo, and panelled with wondrous stone. This building was round and formed of two tiers, like the fortress; its edges were covered with stone plates which served instead of eaves. The Apostle Peter was crucified near this building."¹

"There also is the fortress which was the memorial of the Emperor Hadrian, as we read in the sermon of the holy Pope Leo, on the feast of S. Peter, where he says: 'the Memoria of the Emperor Hadrian.' It is a temple of marvellous size, entirely covered with stone and adorned with various histories. It is surrounded by brass rails, with great peacocks and with a bronze bull; two of these peacocks are now found in the fountain of the Paradiso.² Four horses

¹ The *Terebinthus Neronis* of the *Mirabilia*, of Mallius, and of the *Ordines* refers to the legendary turpentine tree, in the neighbourhood of which Peter was said to have been buried. Mediæval legend out of this tree constructed a great monument, similar to the *Meta Romuli*. This fabulous monument appears in many representations of Rome, for the first time in a view by Cimabue. J. Strigowski, *Cimabue und Rom.*, 1888, p. 79.

² The bronze pine-cone and two peacocks belonging to the Cantharus in S. Peter's, destroyed under Paul V., are still to be seen in the

of gilt bronze stood at the four corners of the temple ; at each façade were bronze doors, and in the middle of the building stood the porphyry tomb, which is now in the Lateran, and in which Pope Innocent is buried. Its cover is in the Paradiso of S. Peter's, over the grave of the Prefect" (viz., Cinthius, the friend of Gregory VII.).

Mallius copied these fantastic accounts with but little alteration from the *Mirabilia*.

2. THE *MIRABILIA URBIS ROMÆ*.

The twelfth century favoured the earliest studies of Roman archæology. The Senators, who flattered themselves that they had restored the republic on the Capitol, calling to mind the monumental splendour of ancient Rome, rebuilt in imagination the city of wonders of their ancestors. In spite of the ruthless destruction of centuries, Rome was the oldest city in the West, and an antique, if decayed, spirit still survived, which asserted itself among the people and came into collision with the Church. At the time of the restoration of the Senate, the *Graphia* and *Mirabilia* assumed the form in which they have come down to us: they were henceforward disseminated in transcripts, but were also reduced to absurdity by ignorant copyists. The two works, which are different recensions of the same substance,

The
*Mirabilia
Urbis
Romæ*.
Time and
nature of
its origin.

court of the Belvedere. According to tradition, the Pigna once adorned the summit of the Pantheon, and not the Mausoleum of Hadrian: Lacour-Gayet, *La Pigna du Vatican* (*Ecole franç.*, *Mélanges*, 1881, p. 312 f.). This, however, is merely legend.

if they do not purposely reject ecclesiastical Rome, nevertheless turn with decided preference to the Pagan city. And this preference excited so little surprise that even the papal archivists, such as Benedict, Albinus, and Cencius, incorporated the *Mirabilia* in their official collections. The mention of the graves of Innocent II. and Anastasius IV., of the towers of the Frangipani and the Pierleoni, finally of the Palace of the Senators on the Capitol, shows that this description of the city was completed in the latter half of the twelfth century. And although older ingredients, more especially the *Book of Imperial Ceremonies*, of the time of the Ottos, have been added to the *Graphia*, its compilation is also due to the same period; nor have we any Codex of the *Mirabilia* of older date than the twelfth century.

Between the *Curiosum Urbis*, or at least between the *Anonymous* of Einsiedeln and the *Mirabilia*, there intervenes a chasm of centuries spanned by no connecting link. The description of the city, which was amplified from the account in the *Curiosum*, doubtless grew up by degrees: portions of it were known to the chroniclers of Soracte, and the entire account may have been pieced together in the twelfth century. The piecemeal origin of the *Mirabilia*, at any rate, cannot be denied; nevertheless, the original recension is missing. In the second half of the twelfth century Roman and Italian authors, the Canon Benedict, Albinus and Cencius, Godfrey of Viterbo, Peter Mallius, Romuald of Salerno, and later Martinus Polonus and Signorili,

made use of the *Mirabilia*, sometimes made extracts from it, and occasionally incorporated it and retouched it in their works.¹

In this curious composition, written by an unknown scholar, concerning *The wonders of the City of Rome*, Roman archæology, which has now attained such appalling proportions, puts forth its earliest shoots in a naïve and barbarous form and in a Latin as ruinous as its subject. The good sense and absurdity, the accurate knowledge and pardonable mistakes therein mingled, are not wholly put to shame by the pretentious learning of later and present-day archæologists, whose opinions, if united, would reduce Rome to a labyrinth utterly offensive to the historian. It is intensely interesting to picture the aspect of the city in the twelfth century, when its majestic ruins stood, not as skeletons and illustrations of a science, skilfully cleansed, railed off and excavated to their base, but transformed, as they were at this earlier period, into defensive towers bristling with the weapons of fierce consuls, or into picturesque dwellings, or abandoned to nature. Many ruins which have now disappeared, or which have lost their marble decoration, stood in the twelfth

¹ I do not believe that the *Mirabilia* are a product of the twelfth century at the earliest. They must have been planned in the time of the Ottos. William of Malmesbury (*De gestis reg. Anglor.*, iii. c. 2) does not seem to have known the work. He only quotes an ancient catalogue of the graves of the martyrs, under the rubric of the fourteen gates and roads, and these localities were entirely altered at the time when he wrote in the first half of the twelfth century. The conception *Mirabilia*, entirely peculiar to the twelfth century, is popular; that of *Graphia* is scholastic.

century erect in the midst of streets, and were known to the people now by correct, now by legendary, names. In reading the *Mirabilia* surprise is awakened by the number of buildings which remained even after the Norman fire. For although the description of the city still enumerates many places and monuments, which had either been altered or had perished in the twelfth century, it nevertheless frequently describes and mentions others that actually survived.

We can test its accuracy in many places by comparing the notices with contemporary books of Church ritual, which throughout give the same popular names of the monuments. The ritual books describe the route taken by the papal procession through Rome, and clearly determine it by buildings and streets. On certain festivals, instead of riding in gilt carriages, the popes performed the distance barefoot. The wearied and aged men rested at appointed stations, where couches (*lectuli*) were prepared in public for their use;¹ or they rode, surrounded by their court and crowned with the *regnum*, on a white mule (*albus palafredus*), which had a silver bridle and was covered with purple.

The Via
Papalis
according
to the
Mirabilia.

The *Ordo* of the Canon Benedict of the year 1143, in the Codex of which we actually find the *Mirabilia*, describes the route taken by the procession as follows: "The Pope proceeds across the (Lateran) field by S. Gregorius in Martio, passes under the Arch of the Aqueduct (*Martia*, from which S.

¹ One of these couches stood on the Bridge of S. Angelo. In some churches a foot-bath was kept ready for the pope. See the *Ordo Romanus*.

Gregory receives its name), to the Great Way, goes to the right past S. Clemente and turns to the left towards the Coliseum. He goes through the *Arcus Aurea* (an arch which leads to the Forum of Nerva), past the Forum of Trajan (that is, the Forum of Nerva) as far as S. Basilius (now delle Annunziate), ascends the hill near the Militiæ of Tiberius (*Torre delle Milizie*); descends by S. Abbacyrus, passes S. Apostoli, turns to the left to the Via Lata, turns aside by the Via Quirinalis, passes S. Maria in Aquiro, proceeds to the Arch of Pietas, then to the Field of Mars past S. Tryphon near the Posterulæ to the Bridge of Hadrian. He crosses the bridge and issues through the Porta Collina in front of the Temple and fortress of Hadrian; passes the obelisk of Nero, traverses the portico near the Tomb of Romulus, and ascends to the Vatican, the Basilica of the Apostle Peter."

"As soon as the Mass is finished, he is crowned in front of the basilica, where he mounts his horse, and so crowned returns in procession along the Sacred Way. Having passed through the portico and crossed the bridge already mentioned, he goes under the triumphal arches of the Emperors Theodosius, Valentinian, and Gratian, and approaches the Palace of Chromatius, where the Jews sing their hymn of praise. He further proceeds through the Parione between the Circus of Alexander (now Navona) and the Theatre of Pompey; down through the Portico of Agrippina (at the Pantheon) up through the Pineas (Region or Piazza della Pigna), near the Palatina (the ancient site called *ad Pallacenas* near

S. Marco), past S. Marco, thence through the Arch of the Hand of Flesh (*Manus Carneæ*), through the Clivus Argentarius between the block of the same name (*Basilica Argentaria*) and the Capitol; ascends in front of the Mamertine prison (*privata Mamertini*); then proceeds under the triumphal Arch (of Severus), between the *Templum Fatale* (Arch of Janus) and the Temple of Concord, further between the Forum of Trajan (Nerva) and the Forum of Cæsar; through the Arch of Nervia, between the Temple of the same goddess and the Temple of Janus;¹ upwards past the Asylum through the paved street where Simon Magus fell (the ancient Via Sacra) near the Temple of Romulus (Basilica of Constantine). He then goes through the triumphal Arch of Titus and Vespasian, which is called after the Seven-branched Candlestick; descends to the Meta Sudans, in front of the triumphal Arch of Constantine, turns left in front of the Amphitheatre and so returns by the Sacred Way (*Sancta Via*) past the Colosseum to the Lateran."²

¹ *Subintrat arcum Nervia inter templum ejusdem Deæ et templum Jani*; the Temple of Minerva in the Forum of Nerva, which had been begun by Domitian. The mighty ruins of this temple were first demolished by Paul V. An Arch of Janus built by Domitian, called by the people *Arca di Noè*, stood here. Bunsen (*Stadtsbeschr.*, iii.) has shown that by the Forum of Trajan the *Ordo* meant that of Nerva.

² *Ordo Rom.* XI. auct. *Benedicto* (Mabill., *Mus. Ital.*, ii. 143). This passage is one of the most valuable notices of mediæval archæology. The procession moved in a wavy line through the Forums, which shows that in many places the way was obstructed by accumulations of ruins. Thus the part of the Forum adjoining the Capitol was buried in dust; close to the ruined base of the Column of Phocas stood a tower called *del campanaro*, or *di pallara*, where tax was levied on cattle. Cam. Re, *Il Campidoglio e le sue adiacenze nel*

Thus a new Via Sacra had arisen for Christian pomps. The last portion of this route, extending from the Colosseum to the Lateran, was called Sancta Via; and the papal processions purposely made their way through the ancient triumphal arches of Paganism. Along the papal route Christian monuments alternated with Pagan ruins; but even the books of ritual of the time spoke of the latter with a decided preference. The book of the *Mirabilia* enumerates all; even the palace of the Prefect Chromatius in the region Parione, where the Jews stationed themselves, is not forgotten. It describes this Roman building, which then survived in ruins near S. Stefano in Piscina, as *Templum Olovitreum*, that is to say, "entirely inlaid with mosaic, entirely made of glass, crystal, and gold with magic art, and provided with an astronomy of the heavens." It is also aware that Sebastian with Tiburtius, son of the Prefect Chromatius, had destroyed this marvellous palace.¹

sec. XIV. (*Bull. Com.*, x. 98). The Temple of Romulus, which Becker (i. 377) explains as *edes Penatium*, Bunsen as that of Venus and Rome, can here only be the Basilica Nova of Constantine.

¹ *Ad S. Stephan. in Piscina palatium Chromatii pref. Templum quod dicebatur olovitreum, totum factum ex crystallo et auro per artem mathematicam, ubi erat astronomia cum omnib. signis celi.* This is taken by the *Mirabilia* (*Cod. Vat.*, 3973) from the *Acta S. Tiburtii Martir. ac Chromatii*. See *Acta Sanctor.*, August 11, t. ii. 622, February 23, p. 372, where Chromatius says: *habeo cubiculum holovitreum, in quo omnis disciplina stellarum ac mathesis est mechanica arte constructa, in cujus fabrica pater meus Tarquinius amplius quam ducenta pondo auri dignoscitur expendisse.* Remains of this ancient palace were discovered when the church of S. Sebastian on the Via S. Lucia was destroyed. Ulrich, in *Röm. Stadtbeschr.*, iii. 3, 84.

The *Ordo Romanus* thus proves the topographical accuracy of the *Mirabilia*; and in other cases also this description of the city, in spite of its barbarous style, repeatedly shows the accuracy of its observations, which the archæology of the present day is obliged to confirm. Its author drew from various other sources beside local traditions. The *Curiosum* and *Notitia* formed his oldest authorities; he rejected, however, their division of regions as being no longer adapted to his time. He satisfied himself with the somewhat altered summary of the walls, gates, hills, and bridges.¹ The still important rubrics: palaces, baths, triumphal arches and theatres, are given by him without enumeration; he dwells on them by preference, but presents them very confusedly. For the benefit and pleasure of the pilgrim he goes on to enumerate the churchyards and places celebrated in the history of the martyrs—information which he derives from the *Books of the Stations* belonging to the various churches, the *Pontificale* and the martyrologies. One of the ingenuous copyists of the Book of the *Mirabilia*, steeped in the study of the *Calendar of the Saints*, confuses the *Fasti* of Ovid (much employed by the author of the *Mirabilia*) with a martyro-

¹ *Murus civitatis R. habet turrez 361, castella 49, propugn. 6900, portas XII. sine transiberim. Posterule V.* (Albinus and *Cod. Vat.*, 3973). A circumference of 22 miles, which is false. The numbers, which differ from those of the *Anon.* of Einsiedeln and Benedict of Soracte, agree almost entirely with the *Graphia*. The later recension of Prague (printed by Höfler in Papencordt's *Gesch. der Stadt Rom.*) inserts the survey of the *Campi, Basilica, Via*, and the *Statues*, with distortions of the *Notitia* and with additions. The compilers of the *Mirabilia* were well acquainted with the ancient breviaries.

logy of Ovidius.¹ Then follow some sections in different order, according to the different recensions; of the Pine Cone which stood in Rome; of the Capitol; of the Temple of Mars in Rome; of the Marble Horses; of the judges of the Emperors in Rome;² of the Column of Antoninus. Finally with many repetitions the description is given of the Vatican and S. Angelo, the Tomb of Augustus, the Capitol, the Forums, the Palatine and other hills, and the history of the bronze horse in front of the Lateran. The building of the Pantheon and Agrippa's vision are also added.

A few extracts suffice to show the manner of description in general adopted by the *Mirabilia*: "Here (at the side of the Forum) is the Temple of Vesta, in whose interior the dragon is said to sleep, as we read in the life of S. Sylvester; and there is the Temple of Pallas and the Forum of Cæsar and the Temple of Janus, which, as Ovid says in the *Fasti*, foresees the year from the beginning to end. Now, however,

¹ *Sicut reperitur in marthilogio Ovidii de fastis*; in Albinus: *marthilogio Ovidii de faustis*; in Romuald: *marthiplogio*. . . . We see how a more correct original must lie even behind these the best recensions. The nonsense in them frequently provokes laughter. The *Porta Septimiana* is explained by the *Mirabilia*: *ubi septem laudes fuerunt factæ Octaviano*. The *Graphia*: *septem Naydes juncto Jano* (likewise the *Mirabil.* of Albimus). The *Graphia*: *In palatio Neronis, quod ex latere et rana dicitur Lateranum*; a copy adds to *rana*: *quam latenter peperit Nero*. The name Quirinal: *quia ibi stabant Quiritis*. A goddess *Nervia* was created out of Nerva.

² *De iudiciis Imperatorum in Roma*; only a fragment of the larger chapter of the *Graphia*. The *Mirabilia* have rejected, as antiquated, the last portion of the *Graphia*, which is a book of imperial ritual of the time of the Ottos.

it is called the tower of Cencius Frangapane." The ruins of the Palatine, also called *Palantius Mons*, are but briefly noticed: "Within the Palatium is the Temple of Julius; in the front of the Palatium the Temple of Sol; on the same Palatium the Temple of Jupiter, which is called *Casa Major*."¹ Of the Circus Maximus: "The Circus of Priscus Tarquinius was one of wonderful beauty, and so graduated that no Roman interfered with the view of another. Arches inlaid with glass and yellow gold stood on the summit; the houses of the Palatium stood above where the women sat in a circle to watch the game, when it was given, on May 14. Two Agulia (obelisks) stood in the centre, the smaller eighty-seven feet high, the greater one hundred and twenty-two. At the entrance and on the summit of the triumphal Arch stood a horse of gilt bronze, which seemed about to rush on the course, as if a warrior were going to charge with him: on the arch at the other end a second horse of gilt bronze. The seats of the Emperor and the Queen, whence the games

¹ *Palatium majus in Pallanteo monte; and the Graphia: Palatium magnum monarchia orbis; in quo sedes et caput totius mundi est, et palatium Casarianum in Palantco.* The imperial palaces are also always designated *palatium majus* in plans of the city in the Middle Ages. The Palatine is the one of all the hills of Rome which suffered least from the Middle Ages. Much still remains to be discovered here. The Ex-King Francis II. sold his share of the imperial palaces (they were held by five different owners) to Napoleon III., for whom Pietro Rosa first made excavations. The Ex-Emperor of the French then sold his portion to the Italian Government in 1870, and henceforward Signor Rosa has continued his excavations with success. The recent discoveries here are consequently connected with the fall of two monarchs.

could be seen, were also at the summit of the Palatine." "In front of the Temple of Trajan, where its doors still remain, was the Temple of Zeus." "Near the Schola Greca was the Temple of Lentulus; on the other side, where the tower of Centius De Origo now stands, the Temple of Bacchus.¹ In Elephantus stood the Temple of the Sibyl, that of Cicero in Tulliano, and the Temple of Zeus, where was the golden harbour, and the Templum Severianum."² "In the Field of Mars was the Temple of Mars, where the Consuls were chosen on the kalends of July, and remained until the kalends of January; if the Consul elect was free from offence, he was confirmed in his consulate.³ The Roman victors placed in this temple the rostra of vessels, which formed a spectacle for all nations." "On the summit of the façade of the Pantheon stood two bulls of gilt bronze. In front of the palace of Alexander were two Temples of Flora and of Phœbus. Behind the place on the spot now occupied by the Shell was the Temple of Bellona, on which was inscribed:—

*Roma vetusta fui: sed nunc nova Roma vocabor:
Eruta ruderibus culmen ad alta fero."*⁴

¹ This may be the present so-called Temple of Vesta or that of Fortuna Virilis. The *templum Lentuli* (*Lentis* in the *Graphia*) was the Arch of Publius Lentulus Scipio between the Tiber and the Aventine, on which Poggio still read the inscription.

² The *Templum Jovis* and *Severianum* belonged to the Portico of Octavia. I have already noticed the ruins of S. Nicola in *Carcere Tulliano* in another passage.

³ *Si purus erat a crimine ille qui electus erat Consul, confirmabatur ei Consulatus.* The manuscript of Prague adds the remarkable words: *propter quod factum multi adhuc consules romanorum vocantur.*

⁴ Thus also the *Graphia*. A large ancient basin or conca stood,

The *Mirabilia* frequently designate the monuments of antiquity by the churches which were built within their ruins, and we see that they occupied themselves almost exclusively with such monuments. The book thus contains nothing more or less than the archæological knowledge of Rome, in an age when Italy made the courageous effort to shake off the barbarism of the Middle Ages, the rule of priests, and the tyranny of the foreigner, at one stroke. The Book of the *Mirabilia* consequently appears the logical consequence of the archæological restoration of the ancient city in the time of the formation of the free commune. And we may suppose that it was consequently the favourite study of the Senators at the time. That its compiler could have been other than a Roman is impossible. He expresses with conviction the essentially archæological aim of his book in the following words: "These and many other temples of the Emperors, Consuls, Senators and Prefects existed in this golden city in Pagan times, as we read in ancient annals, and have seen with our own eyes. How they shone resplendent with gold, silver, bronze, ivory and precious stones, we have endeavoured as far as we were able to describe for the benefit of posterity in this book."¹

as on other piazze, as an ornament in front of S. Eustachio at this time. The *Conca Parionis* in the neighbourhood of the Theatre of Pompey is also mentioned.

¹ This sentence, which is incomplete in the *Graphia* and other recensions, runs thus in the *Cod. Vat.*, 3973: *hæc et alia multa templa et palatia imperatorum, consulum, senatorum, prefectorumque tempore paganorum in hac romana urbe, sicut in priscis annalibus legimus et oculis nostris vidimus, et ab antiquis audivimus: quanta*

The archæologist of the present day still owes a debt of gratitude to the scholar who compiled the work, and if criticism enable him to separate the true from the false, may derive much benefit from its pages. The author was an investigator and the forerunner of Flavius Blondus; and to him belongs the credit of the first attempt to reconstruct the ruined city and to trace the plan of its historic monuments. But the real Roman city is veiled not only in the *Mirabilia*, but in all other archæological books as well, as it were in a troubled moonlight. The progress of time covers all the creations of history, however great and splendid, with dust. After generations search with pretentious pains to discover evidences of the past, in order to arrive at half the knowledge once possessed by every child.¹

etiam essent pulchritudinis auri et argenti, heris et eboris pretiosorum lapidum, scriptis ad posterum memoriam quanto melius potuimus reducere uravimus. This is not given by Montfaucon's *Mirabilia*.

¹ The editions of the *Mirabilia* begin with the Roman ones at the end of *sæc. xv.* That of Montfaucon is of the year 1702. Later editions are those in the *Effemeridi literarie di Roma*, i.; of Grasse; Höfler; and Urlichs. The last Roman edition was published in 1864. Then Gustav Parthey's *Mirabilia Roma e codicib. vat. emendata*, Berlin, 1869. Since Herr Parthey did me the honour of dedicating his work to me, I here express my thanks to that scholar. The best and oldest recension is contained in the codices of Canon Benedict (*Liber Polypticus* in the *Vaticelliana*); *Cod. Vatican.*, n. 3973 (*Chronicle* of Romuald); *Cod. Ottobon.*, n. 3057 (Albinus, from which Cencius drew his material). This, according to de Rossi's opinion, contains the earliest recension; but this also points to a better original, which is no longer found, and de Rossi himself agrees with me in this view: *Roma Sotterranea*, i. 158. There are still several other codices, also outside Italy, more especially of later date than the thirteenth century. The *Anonymous Magliabecchianus* of the fifteenth century, published by L. Merklin, Dorpat, 1852, is a

3. LEGENDS OF ROMAN STATUES—VIRGIL IN THE MIDDLE AGES—VIRGIL AS PROPHET AND NECROMANCER—VIRGIL THE ENCHANTER IN ROME AND NAPLES—ACCOUNTS OF HIM AT THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY—DESCRIPTION OF ROME AT THIS PERIOD BY THE RABBI BENJAMIN OF TUDELA

The archæological book of mediæval Rome gives rise to some other considerations. It is curious in this age of romantic fiction to find that the character of the *Mirabilia* remained so pronouncedly archæological, that the legendary element was almost entirely relegated to the background. While the Church cherished the legends of the martyrs, she avoided profane traditions; the taste for fable, moreover, is foreign to the Italian people, whose country—filled to overflowing with historic figures—and whose clear skies are unfavourable to the visions of dreamland. The *Mirabilia* contain surprisingly few legends: almost all (and this is characteristic of Rome) refer to the statues.

At a time when the art of sculpture had perished, its noble remains within the city must have awakened admiration; foreign pilgrims, more especially if possessed of the culture of Hildebert of Tours, must have been roused to an almost Pagan enthusiasm at the sight of these works, or must have considered them as the product of magic art. More immediately and more vividly than all other remains of antiquity,

compilation from the *Regionarium*, the *Mirabilia*, and other topographical accounts.

the statues represented the ideals of the classic world to the populace, who had forgotten and no longer understood the poetry of the ancients. No artist was anywhere able to fashion a marble figure such as those which remained, like strangers from another world, in the midst of ruins of baths and temples. The gods of Greece looked out of the eyes of lonely statues on a barbarous race, which had been roused by the Crusades and the East, and, at a time when Roman law and the Roman republic were restored, began to remember the beauties of Paganism. The precious legend of the Marble Venus is significant of this tone of mind in Rome. A youth playfully put a ring on the finger of the goddess, which she retained as a wedding-ring. This interesting fable reveals a slumbering consciousness in the human mind of its indestructible connection with ancient culture. It heralded a knowledge of a return to the beautiful forms of Pagan art.¹ The legends, however, which were associated with the statues of Rome only testify to the fact that these lost works of Greek genius remained uncomprehended by a race that had relapsed into barbarism. They could only be seen in Rome; in no other place, without making excavations, were there to be found so many statues of marble and bronze. The fables of the Roman statues, although in some cases undoubtedly due to the excited imagination of Northern pilgrims, may as probably have been invented by the Romans as by

The statues and the legends which centre round them.

¹ Very pleasingly related by William of Malmesbury (*De Gestis reg. Anglor.*, ii. c. 13). This legend provided the material for the opera of Zampa or the Marble Bride.

foreigners. The curious story of the bronze statue on the Field of Mars, who pointed with one finger to the earth, while on his head were inscribed the words "Strike here" (*hic percutite*!), and the meaning of which was discovered by the celebrated Pope Gerbert, sprang undoubtedly from the brain of some pilgrim, who dreamed of enchanted treasures in subterranean Rome.¹ The legend pointed in truth to the mysteries of the antique world which lay buried beneath the soil of the city. How often when walking through the ruins of the Forum, in the Field of Mars, or in the deserted baths, might we not halt and cry "*hic percutite*"! For countless statues still remain buried waiting for the magic word, or the accident which will burst the covering of their graves.

The *Mirabilia* inform us that Romulus erected his golden statue in his palace with the motto: "It will not fall until a Virgin gives birth to a child," and that immediately on the Saviour's birth, the statue fell to the ground.² They relate the suggestive

¹ William of Malmesbury, c. 10. Gerbert had excavations made on the spot where the shadow of the finger touched the ground, and descended into a subterranean enchanted palace.

² *Palatium Romuli inter S. Mariam Novam et S. Cosmatem, ubi sunt due edes Pietatis et Concordie, ubi posuit Romulus statuam suam auream dicens: Non cadet, donec virgo pariet. Statim ut peperit virgo, statua illa corruit* (*Mirabilia*, ed. Parthey, p. 5). The Palace of Romulus is in the *Mirabilia* now the Basilica Nova, as is here evident from its position; now the double Temple of Venus and Rome, which was called *ades pietatis et concordie* in the Middle Ages. Jordan (*Top.*, ii. 508) has rejected my opinion, but L. Duchesne has acknowledged it as correct (*École fr., Mélanges*, 1886, p. 33).

legend of another statue which spoke to the apostate Emperor Julian and enticed him back to Paganism.¹ Even their chief profane legends refer to statues, and the reader of this history is already acquainted with the curious anecdotes relating to the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, the two marble colossi and the sounding statues on the Capitol.

The ancient fable of the statue of the Campidoglio was later associated with the cycle of legends which centred round the "enchanter Virgil," and we may here express our surprise that the author of the *Mirabilia* scorned to reproduce the legends concerning Virgil in his work. The verses of Rome's greatest poet, which were declaimed by rhetoricians long after the fall of the empire, were no longer recited in the ruins of Trajan's Forum. The use of the Italian language already rendered it difficult to understand them; the Latin Muse, even the Muse of epigram, was almost silent in Rome during the twelfth century, while she elsewhere put forth fragrant blossoms such as the songs of the wandering scholars. It would be a difficult task to discover the hidden school of any grammarian who explained the *Æneid* or *Eclogues* to his pupils. Nevertheless, we have no doubt that the knowledge of Virgil still survived in Rome; the writer of the *Mirabilia* was also acquainted with Ovid, while Horace, the man of the

¹ *Ad S. Mariam in fontana* (on the Esquiline) *fuit templum Fauni, quod simulacrum locutus est Juliano et decepit eum.* In the *Chronicle of the Emperors* it was the statue of Mercury, which is lying in the Tiber, that led Julian astray. Massmann, *Kaiserchron.*, iii. 874. The *Mirabilia* in the *Cod. Vat.*, 4265, contain the legend that the statue of Veronica spoke to Charles the Great.

Grave of
Pallas.

world, was less accessible to this rude generation.¹ Antiquarian discoveries in Rome were explained through Virgil, as is shown by the account of William of Malmesbury, who relates that the grave of Pallas, son of Evander, was discovered about 1045. The body of the giant, he informs us, was found in perfect preservation, with a wound on the breast four feet long, as it had been inflicted by King Turnus. A burning taper was also found in the vault, which could not be extinguished until a fissure was made below the flame. It was impossible that the English annalist could have described the grave in such terms, had he not already received the account of its recent discovery from Roman antiquaries.²

The survival of Virgil in the Middle Ages affords a favourite subject for study and explanation in our days. We know that since the time of Constantine

¹ Outside Rome anthologies (*floscoli*) were compiled from Virgil, Ovid, and Horace. See the *Specul. Historiale*, lib. vi. c. 63, of Vincentius Burgundus (about 1240).

² William of Malmesbury, ii. c. 13. *Tunc corpus Pallantis filii Evandri, de quo Virgilius narrat, Romæ repertum est illibatum ingenti stupore omnium.* They even pretend to have discovered the epitaph:—

*Filius Evandri Pallans, quem lancea Turni
Militis occidit, more suo jacet hic.*

The annalist considered that it had been written by Ennius or some other poet. We may imagine how great was the multitude of antiquities discovered in Rome at this time, and the injuries they received. Metal and valuable stone only were not thrown away. In a lease of S. Maria in Trastevere of 1175, the custody of certain finds is given to the tenants: *et si aliquod metallum sive de majoribus lapidibus plus valens XII. denarios pp. ibi inveniens medietatem dicte nostre ecclesie, &c.*

passages of Virgil's poems, the Fourth Eclogue more especially, were regarded as Christian prophecies. The Muse had inspired the poet who lived on the borderland between two ages with some gifted verses, which accidentally appeared to prophesy the birth of Christ,¹ and never have the subtle flatteries of a poet or his ideal longings after a golden age been more richly rewarded than were those of Virgil. The unconscious Pagan was elevated to the rank of a prophet of the Messiah, he became the favourite poet of the Church and of the credulous Middle Ages, and for centuries his books were quoted as the oracle of a sibylline seer, and appeal was blindly made to them in the same way as it is now frequently made to the Bible. The legendary character of the Virgilian muse is one of the most interesting phenomena in the history of the human imagination, linking together, as it does, different epochs and different modes of thought. Thus one of the most beautiful of all legends, which unite

¹ These are the well-known lines of the VI. Eclogue :—

*Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas ;
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo ;
Jam redit et virgo : redeunt Saturnia regna,
Jam nova progenies cælo densabitur alto*

By the *virgo* Virgil intended Astrea to be understood : the *puer* was the son of his patron Asinius Pollio. Even Dante says : *Virgo namque vocabatur Justitia, quam et Astream vocabant* (*de Monarchia*, i. c. 10). Cola di Rienzo also rejected the Messianic interpretation of the lines : *quamquam hoc carmen nonnulli magistroneſ erronei Apostolicas prophetias deserentes, pro virgine matre Dei a Hieronymo in præmio super Genesi redarguti, duxerunt fore dictum : Nicolai Tribuni Romani ad Guidon. Bonon. Card. Oratio, in Petrarca, op. p. 1126.*

antiquity with Christianity, is the legend of the vision of Virgil's patron, the Emperor Octavian, to whom the Sibyl, about to take leave of mankind, shows the Virgin and the infant Christ.¹

If the Church honoured Virgil as a species of Pagan Isaiah, the populace transformed him (and this at a surprisingly early date) into a philosopher, mathematician, or enchanter of the first rank. In such guise was he known to the Romans at the time of the *Mirabilia*; the legend of Virgil, the enchanter, however, was not native to Roman soil, but had been transplanted from elsewhere. It is strange that the *Mirabilia*, in relating the vision of Octavian, never refer to Virgil, and that the legend of the sounding statues is no way associated with the poet. The *Salvatio Romæ* on the Capitol, where the bells on the statues announced any revolt in the provinces, does not appear in Rome in the form which it later assumed. The French romance of Virgil, in fact, relates that the enchanter had built a tower for the salvation of Rome, which he had provided with such statues, and another legend describes the building as glittering with gold by day and as illumined at night with a radiant lamp, visible to sailors. It moreover relates that a mirror within the tower revealed all that took place in the world and every hostile movement against Rome. This fable of the magic mirror, which is found in the epics of chivalry, such as *Par-sifal*, is not of Roman origin, although it may possibly have been familiar in Rome at the time of the

The
Salvatio
Romæ,

¹ I am astonished that none of the great painters has depicted this vision. What a subject for Raffaele!

Mirabilia. Antiquaries tell us that the ruined tower of the Frangipani beside the Arch of Titus, after its destruction by Gregory IX. in the thirteenth century, was called by the people "the Tower of Virgil."¹

The so-called *Bocca della Verità* also belongs to the wonders or talismans of Virgil. The association, however, of this legend (which centres in S. Maria in Cosmedin) with Virgil is not due to the Romans, and may not, perhaps, have been even known to them in the twelfth century. The huge mask of a cloaca still stands in the atrium of this basilica; rumour in the Middle Ages asserted that the ancient Romans, when taking an oath, were obliged to place one hand within the open mouth of this mask; if the witness were guilty of perjury the hand was bitten off, but the cunning of an adulteress finally destroyed the magic powers of the mask.²

*La Bocca
della
Verità,*

¹ Marangoni, *Anfiteatro Romano*, p. 51. The *Salvatio Rome* is known through the work of the seven wise masters, or from *Virgil the Enchanter*. The *Mirabilia* in this connection only give the legend of the *Anon.* of Salerno (vol. iii. of this history). Helinand also (*Specul. Historiale*, iv.) abides by the *Anonymous*, and does not once mention the Capitol. Concerning the legend: Genthe, *Leben und Fortleben des Virgilius als Dichter und Zauberer*, 1857, p. 72. Rufini mistakenly associates the *Via di Tor de' Specchi*, beside the Capitol, with the Mirror Tower of Virgil. I believe the street to have received its name from the family *de Speculo* or *de' Specchi*, whose tower may possibly have stood there. The ancient palace of this family still remains in another *Via Specchi*, not far from the Palace of S. Croce.

² In the French romance *Virgilius* the statue becomes a bronze serpent; in the *Kurzweiligen Gesprächen*, however (Frankfort, 1503), the story is told as in the later legend: "Virgil made an image in stone in Rome, where those who swore an oath were tested. He who took it had to place his hand in the mouth of the statue. Did he

The *Mirabilia* are silent concerning these supernatural powers of Virgil, and only mention the poet once as follows: "The church of S. Agatha stands on the Viminal where Virgilius was imprisoned by the Romans; he assumed invisible form and went to Naples; whence is derived the saying, '*Vado ad Neapolim.*'"¹ This seems to refer to the fable which relates that Virgil, imprisoned by the emperor on account of the curious revenge which he took upon a disdainful Roman lady, went by an aerial ship to Apulia; and the solitary passage in the *Mirabilia* proves that the Romans of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were acquainted not only with this legend but also with others relating to Virgil.

Virgilius
enchanter
in Naples,

accord-
ing to
Gervasius
of Tilbury,

Nevertheless Naples, his favourite city, was the true home of Virgil the enchanter, and at Naples is his legendary grave. It is almost surprising to see the naïve belief with which even serious-minded men related the Neapolitan fables of Virgil at the end of the twelfth century. The Englishman, Gervasius of Tilbury, marshal of the kingdom of Arles, in his *Otia Imperialia*, a work dedicated to the Emperor Otto IV., instances with special partiality, among the

swear falsely, his hand was bitten off by the face" (Genthe, p. 75). As Virgil was esteemed the maker of various talismans by the Latins, so was Apollonius of Tyana by the Byzantines.

¹ *Viminalis ubi est ecclesia S. Agathæ, ubi Virgilius captus a Romanis, invisibiliter exiit, evitque Neapolim; unde dicitur: vado ad Neapolim.* In the Breviary *de montibus*; possibly a gloss, which is only found in Montfaucon's recension. I have already explained (vol. iii.) the name of the street *Magnanapoli*. Virgil was supposed to have lived in this neighbourhood, and the gardens of Mæcenæ were looked for there.

many *Mirabilia* of the world, the miracles worked by the poet at Naples. The author of the Roman national epic might perhaps have been in some degree gratified at being credited as a magician with the erection of the *Salvatio Romæ*, the great imperial police institution of the empire. In Naples, however, he sank to the level of a charlatan; was credited with having banished flies by means of a bronze fly; with having shut up all snakes within the Capuan gate; with having saved all horses from hollow backs by means of a bronze horse; with having kept all the meat in the market constantly fresh by a miraculous piece of meat. He is also said to have planted a garden on the hill of the Virgin with medicinal herbs where the mountain-arnica restored the sight of blind sheep; to have been able to arrest the south wind, or to keep Vesuvius in check by means of a bronze statue of a trumpeter or an archer. Works somewhat more worthy of the poet were the erection of the Castel dell' Uovo upon eggs, the making of the tunnel of Posilippo and the establishment of curative baths at Puteoli, the use of which was neutralised by the envious physicians of Salerno, who erased the prescription.¹

The ingenious Palladium which Virgil inclosed in

¹ Gervasius, *Otia Imperialia* (Leibn., *Rer. Brunsvicar.*, l. 963, in the section *Mirabilia unius cujusque provincia*, from which we see how general was the conception of *Mirabilia* at this time). Gervasius wrote about 1211, and relates that he had seen these miracles in Naples in the year 1191. Leibnitz, indignant with him, and without any sympathy for popular legends, says: *vixit eo seculo, quod ego cum proximo omnium seculorum post Christum natum ineptissimum esse comperi.*

and accord-
ing to
Conrad of
Hilde-
sheim.

a glass phial failed, however, to protect the walls of Naples, since Henry VI., heedless of any impediment, caused these walls to be destroyed in 1196. His Chancellor Conrad, Bishop-elect of Hildesheim, who accompanied the Emperor as legate of the kingdom of Sicily, asserts, with a gravity worthy of belief, that in spite of the Palladium the walls of Naples were pulled down by the valiant Germans; but he explains, in reverence to the great enchanter, that the magic flask had suffered a fracture. He also admits that the Germans had not dared to pull down the so-called iron gate, for fear of setting free the snakes which Virgil had subdued by charms.¹ This man of high position assures us with the calmest conviction—a conviction doubtless shared by the Emperor himself—that he had seen and examined the miracles of Virgil; that, for instance, when the bones of the poet were exposed to the air the sky immediately darkened and a storm arose on the sea. His romantic letter to Herbord of Hildesheim, accepted as a precious jewel in Arnold's *Chronicle of the Slavs*, opens the interminable series of letters of travel, extending to our own days, which have been written from Italy by Germans. It is delightful to see how the mind of the chancellor, steeped in classic studies and stirred by the sight of a new and beautiful world, expanded under the influence of Southern Italy. He even discovers Parnassus and Olympus, and rejoices that the inspiring fountain of Hippocrene now flowed within the confines of

¹ Letter of Conrad to the Provost of Hildesheim (in Arnold's *Chron. Slavor.*, iv. c. xix.).

the German empire. With mythological horror he passed between Scylla and Charybdis, sailed joyfully past Scyros, where Thetis had hidden her heroic son Achilles, beheld the frightful labyrinth of the Minotaur in the theatre of Taormina, and in Sicily made the acquaintance of the Saracens, who possessed the enviable power, bequeathed by the apostle Paul, of killing poisonous snakes by merely spitting at them.¹

We leave these diverting legends, which lend so vivid a colouring to a superstitious century (a century during which chivalrous poetry first appeared in Germany), and end our review of these *Mirabilia* with the account of another traveller, who saw and briefly described the city before Conrad had entered it; that is to say before 1173. The *Mirabilia* of Rome were magnified by Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, the predecessor of Sir John Mandeville, who wrote in Hebrew a partly fabulous account of his journey to India in the spirit of his century.²

¹ *Vidimus ibidem saracenos, qui solo spūto venenosa interficiunt animalia.* We recognise the age of Turpin's *Chronicle*, of the travels of Duke Ernest, of the Knight Tundalus, Apollonius of Tyre, the *Chronicle of the Emperors*, &c. The literature on Virgil in the Middle Ages already reaches great proportions. *Virgilius als Theolog und Prophet*, by F. Piper, Berlin, 1862; Zappert, "Virgil's Fortleben im Mittelalter" (*Akademie der Wissensch.*, vol. ii., Vienna, 1851); Genthe and L. Roth, *Ueber den Zauberer Virgil*, Vienna, 1859; and the learned and recent work by Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, Livorno, 1872.

² *Benjamin de Tudela Itinerarium*, Lugduni, 1633, Elzevir; Hebrew with a Latin translation. Asher, *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin*.

The learned Rabbi saw Rome only with Jewish eyes, since the circumstance which naturally most attracted him was the connection of the cosmopolitan city with Israel, and the fall of Jerusalem under Titus and Vespasian. We here borrow his description, the only account of a visit to Rome in the Middle Ages that we possess of this period.

Descrip-
tion of
Rome by
the Rabbi
Benjamin
of Tudela.

"Rome," says Benjamin, "consists of two parts, the Tiber dividing the city in such a manner, that standing on one bank we see the other. In the first stands the largest temple, which in Roman language is called S. Peter's. Here is also the palace of the great Julius Cæsar, with many buildings and works; the palace is utterly different from any other in the world.¹ The city, here in ruins, there inhabited, is twenty-four miles in circumference. It contains eighty palaces of the eighty kings, who are all called emperors, from the empire of Tarquinius to the empire of Pipin, father of Charles, who first wrested Spain from the Ishmaelites and subjugated it. There, outside Rome, is the palace of Titus, whom the three hundred senators would not receive, because he had not obeyed their orders; for instead of conquering Jerusalem in two years, he did not overcome it until the third year. We see besides the palace of King Vespasian, a strong and solid building like a temple.² Further the palace of King Galbinus, in

¹ Precisely as in the *Mirabilia: palatium Julii Cæsaris*. He refers to the Vatican obelisk, with the surrounding ruins of the Circus and other remains.

² *Ibi extra Romam est palatium Titi*: that is, the Circus of Maxentius, which is also called *palatium Titi et Vespasiani foris Romam*

which are three hundred and sixty halls, as many as the days of the year, and which measures three miles in circumference. Once during a war more than one hundred thousand Edomites were killed in this palace, where their bones still hang. The king had all the war-horses and weapons depicted in marble, so that later generations might have the ancient battles before their eyes.¹ There is the subterranean cave, where the king and queen sit on thrones, with nearly one hundred princes of the empire round them, all represented in sculpture, as may still be seen. By his statue in the sanctuary in the church of S. Stephen are two bronze columns, the work of King Solomon, who sleeps in peace. On each column is inscribed 'Solomon son of David.' The Jews there told me that on July 9 a liquid like water flows from these columns. There is also the cave where Titus, son of Vespasian, deposited the sacred vessels of the Temple, which he had brought from Jerusalem. There is moreover another cave in the hill beside the Tiber, where rest the ten righteous men (blessed be their memory) who were put to death under the reign of the tyrants. Further in front of the temple of the Lateran image Samson is represented holding a stone globe in his hand;

ad catacumbas in a recension of the *Mirabilia*. The Palatium of Vespasian is the Colosseum. It is characteristic that the Jew says nothing of the triumphal arch of Titus.

¹ The enigmatic *Palatium Galbini* (פלבי in the text) seems rather to apply to the Baths of Caracalla, beside which the church of S. Balbina had stood since ancient times, than to the doubtful remains of the *horrea Galbiana* at the Emporium (Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii. 68); since Benjamin's description scarcely suits the latter.

then Absalom son of David, and King Constantine, who built Constantina, which is called Constantinopolis after him. His statue, and the statue of the horse are bronze ; they were formerly, however, overlaid with gold." Benjamin consequently shows that the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, called by the people *Caballus Constantini*, stood at the Lateran.¹

The spirit of the *Mirabilia* breathes in Benjamin of Tudela. It is interesting to picture the rabbi, accompanied by fellow believers from the Trastevere, wandering through the (to him) unfamiliar city and listening to the fabulous account of its wonders. The Roman Ghetto had also its archaeology, which referred to the fictitious or historical connection of the city with the people of David. The legends connected with it were indeed sufficiently old, for even in the sixth century Zacharias, the Armenian bishop, asserted that twenty-five statues

¹ According to the *Graphia* the remains of the Colossus of the Sun from the Amphitheatre were in the Lateran; *cujus caput et manus nunc sunt ante Lateranum*; and the hand and head are also represented on the ancient plan of the city, *Cod. Vat.*, 1960, beside the equestrian figure of Marcus Aurelius. The *Mirabilia* printed in 1511 say Sylvester had had the Colossus of Phœbus destroyed: *caput vero et manus prædicti idoli cum pomo ad palatium in Laterano fecit poni — quæ palma et caput Sampsonis false vocatur a vulgo*. A colossal hand may now be seen in the Palace of the Conservatori. Benjamin does not mention the legend of Noah's coming to Rome, but knows of his war with Romulus and other legends, which are found in the spurious Josephus (Gorionides, a Gaulish Jew who lived about the Carolingian period), according to whose opinion Romulus, in dread of David's arrival, had walls built round Rome. *Josephus Hebraicus*, &c., Lipsie, 1710, i. c. 4.

of Jewish kings had been erected by Vespasian, and the *Graphia* relates that the Ark of the Covenant, the seven-branched candlestick, and the relics of Moses and Aaron were preserved in the Lateran. Benjamin does not mention the circumstance, and the Jewish archæologists merely showed him a legendary cave, in which the vessels of the Temple were said to have been placed. Moreover the relations with Jerusalem, more especially since the time of the Crusades, had become so much closer, that the *Mirabilia* assert that a large bronze table had been affixed to the wall of the Forum of Augustus, near S. Basilius, on which was inscribed, in Greek and Latin characters, the treaty of friendship which the Romans had formed with Judas Maccabeus.¹ Benjamin left local traditions unheeded, and we regret that he only paid a brief visit to Rome, and that he gives a still briefer account of his experiences there. Had he told us as much about the Rome of his time as his contemporary Ibn-Djoberr tells us of Palermo, his information would probably have been of the highest value. But the extent of the city and its ruins oppressed the imagination even of Christians educated in classic literature, and the Rabbi

¹ *In muro S. Basilii fuit magna tabula erea infixa, ubi fuit scripta amicitia in loco bono et notabili, que fuit inter Romanos et Judeos, tempore Jude Macchabei (Mirab., Cod. Vat., n. 3973). This is explained by I. Maccabees, c. 8, v. 22 : "And this is the copy which the senate wrote back again in tables of brass and sent to Jerusalem, that there they might have by them a memorial of peace and confederacy." The Roman copies of the documents were undoubtedly preserved in the city archives. How a bronze copy of the treaty with the Jews can have reached S. Basilio is incomprehensible to me.*

of Tudela fittingly closes his sketch with the words: "there are still other buildings and works in Rome, which no one is able to enumerate."¹

4. THE MONUMENTS AND THEIR OWNERS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY—THE ROMAN SENATE BEGINS TO TAKE MEASURES FOR THEIR PRESERVATION—THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN—COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS—PRIVATE ARCHITECTURE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY—THE TOWER OF NICHOLAS—THE TOWERS IN ROME.

In relating the unfortunate events of the eleventh century we have described the history of the ruins in the city. In the twelfth, Rome was so constantly in a state of tumult that we may easily imagine how many ancient buildings were destroyed, more particularly in the time of Henry IV. and Robert Guiscard. Tranquillity having been restored to the city, the remains of the ancient buildings provided materials for her restoration. No official kept watch over the antiquities, while as before costly marbles and even statues were thrown into the lime-kiln. Rome was still regarded even by foreigners as a mine of valuable materials. And as Desiderius had once carried columns from Rome to Monte Casino so were columns now removed by foreign princes and bishops. Coming to Rome, these men regarded the splendid works of antiquity with

¹ An account of the wonders of Rome, full of legends, is given by F. Guidi, "Descrizione di Roma nei geografi arabi," *Arch. d. Societ. Rom.*, vol. i. 174 ff.

envious eyes, and the neglect in which they were allowed to remain invited the visitor to make them his own. The Abbot Sugerius of S. Denis, the contemporary of S. Bernard, admitted that, surveying the marvellous columns in the Baths of Diocletian and other Thermæ, he longed to put them on board a vessel and send them to France, where he was engaged in restoring his abbey. If the difficulty of transport and other circumstances hindered the execution of his desire, we may easily imagine that these obstacles did not stand in the way of other bishops and towns.¹

Ruin of
Rome and
her monu-
ments.

The public buildings nevertheless belonged by right to the State, and we have documents of this period in which popes confer the monuments or churches on private persons. The greater number of ancient buildings had passed into private hands ; and were thus saved from the complete destruction into which they would have fallen as public property. The uses to which they were adapted by the owners injured but did not destroy them. An example of the lot which befell the monuments is given by the Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus. In 1199 Innocent III. confirmed the church of S. Sergius and Bacchus in partial possession of this monument.

The
Triumphal
Arch of
Severus.

¹ *Hoc solum mente laborantibus et animo supererat, ut ab urbe (Romæ enim in Palatio Diocletiani, et aliis terminis sæpe mirabiles conspeximus) et per mare mediterraneum tuta classe — conductum haberemus.* Sugerius, *De Consecratione Eccl. S. Dionysii* (Duchesne, iv. 352), in Jacob Burckhardt: *die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, Basle, 1860. The splendid granite columns, which fortunately were not carried away by the abbot, now adorn S. Maria degli Angeli in the Baths of Diocletian.

"We confirm," so runs the Bull, "the half of the triumphal arch which consists of three arches, of which one of the smaller stands nearer to your church (one of the towers is built over it), and the half of the entire arch from the middle, with the rooms near the smaller arch." He adds that the other half belongs to a certain Ciminus. The arch consequently belonged to two proprietors; it was entirely surrounded by buildings, was fortified, and had a tower on its platform.¹

The
Senate
preserves
the city
walls.

The popes consequently continued to regard ancient buildings as the property of the State, and we remember that the Church claimed both S. Angelo and the Pantheon as her own. When the Romans acquired their freedom, the city advanced her claim as owner of the public monuments in every case where these monuments had not been converted into towered palaces by Roman families. The Senate undertook the care of preserving the city walls, to which the pope was obliged to contribute a yearly sum. On the venerable walls of Aurelian we consequently find the names of mediæval Senators belonging to Barbarossa's time alongside of the names of ancient emperors and consuls. In 1157 the Senate restored a portion of the walls at the Porta Metrobia, and we still see the monumental tablet on the tower della Marana, which records the names of the Senators then in office without any

¹ *Medietatem arcus triumphalis, qui totus in tribus arcibus constat, de quo unus de minoribus arcibus propinquior est vestra ecclesia, supra quem una ex turribus edificata esse videtur. Ep. Innoc. III., lib. II. n. 101, dat. VI. Non. Julii A. 1199.*

mention of the pope.¹ The Marana is a brook which flows under the tower into the city.

No inscription records that either Senators or popes restored an aqueduct; these great works of ancient Rome remain hidden in profound silence. The name of a Senator still stands conspicuous on one of the island bridges. On the Pons Cestius we read the inscription: "Benedictus, chief Senator of the illustrious city, restored this almost entirely ruined bridge." It was undoubtedly Benedict Carushomo who executed the work.² The Milvian Bridge also, destroyed by the Romans in the time of Henry V., was restored by the commune, as we may remember from the Senate's letter to Conrad.

Another evidence of the Senate's activity in this direction is still more praiseworthy. On March 27, 1162, the day after Barbarossa's entry into unfortunate Milan, and perhaps on the very day that the barbarous destruction of the city was inaugurated, the Roman Senate chanced to resolve on measures for the preservation of Trajan's Column: "in order

¹ R. . . . S. AG (obliterated signs) † AÑO MCLVII. INCARN̄S DN̄I Jh̄V XPI SPQR HEC MENIA VETVSTATE DILAPSA RESTAVRAVIT SENATORES SASSO JOH̄S DE AIBERICO ROIERI BVCCA CANE PINZO FILIPPO JOH̄S DE PARENZO PETRVS D̄S TESALVI CENCIO DE ANSOINO RAINALDO ROMANO NICOLA MANETTO. This inscription of the Senators is the oldest, and also the only one of its kind, in Rome.

² BENEDICTVS ALME
VRBIS SVMM' SENATO
R. RESTAVRAVIT HVN
C. PONTEM FERE DIRV
TVM

Preservation of
Trajan's
Column.

that it should never be mutilated or destroyed, but should remain as it stands to the honour of the Roman people, as long as the world endures. Any one daring to injure it shall be punished by death and his property shall fall to the treasury."¹ This splendid monument, which commemorated Trajan's greatest military deeds, now belonged to the nuns of S. Ciriacus, and the Roman Senate, indifferent to the unworthiness of such a fate, confirmed the convent in possession of the column and the little church of S. Niccolò at its base. The Column of Marcus Aurelius also still belonged to the monks of S. Silvestro in Capite. An inscription in the atrium of this convent says: "Since the Antonine column, belonging to the convent of S. Sylvester and the adjacent church of S. Andrew, with the oblations presented by pilgrims to both the upper and lower altars, has long passed by lease into other hands, and in order that this may never again occur, we, by the authority of the apostolic prince Peter, and SS. Stephen, Dionysius, and Sylvester, curse and bind with the bonds of the anathema the abbots and monks as often as they shall attempt to give column and church in lease or benefice. Anyone taking the

¹ *Restituimus salvo jure parochiali ecclesie SS. Apostolorum Phil. et Jacobi et salvo honore publico urbis eidem columnæ, ne unquam per aliquam personam obtentu investimenti hujus restitutionis diruatur aut minuat, sed ut est ad honorem ipsius ecclesie et totius populi Romani integra et incorrupta permaneant dum mundus durat, sic ejus stante figura. Qui vero eam minuire temptaverit persona ejus ultimum patiat, et bona ejus omnia fisco applicentur. . . . Actum. a. dom. incarn. MCLXII. Ind. X., &c. (Document from S. Mar. in Via Lata, in Galletti, *del Prim.*, n. lxi.).*

column by force from our convent, shall be eternally damned as a spoiler of the Temple, and shall be encompassed by the everlasting anathema. So be it. This is decreed by the authority of the bishops and cardinals and of many priests and laymen present. Peter, by God's Grace humble Abbot of this convent, with his brethren drew up and ratified this in the year of the Lord 1119, in the XII. indiction."¹

With the growth of freedom grew the love of antiquity, reverence for its monuments, and the sense of the renown which Rome derived from the works of her ancestors. The nobles also desired to acquire glory for themselves by beautifying the city by means of buildings. The tower on the Bridge of the Senators (Ponte Rotto) was built with this intention: this tower was called Monzone in the later Middle Ages, and is still known to the imaginative populace as the house of Pilate or of Cola di Rienzo. This curious *tite-de-pont* (a tower where the *pedagium* was exacted stood on every bridge in Rome) claimed to have been a sumptuous palace. Its remains of solid brick are now the most impressive monument of the curious private architecture of the Roman Middle Ages. The façade was divided by cornices and small compartments, and the building

The Tower
of Nicholas
at the
Ponte
Rotto.

¹ QM̄. COLVPNA ANTONINI IVRIS MŌN SCĪ SILVRI
ET ECCLĀS ANDREEQ.: CIRCA EĀ SITA Ē CŪ OBLA-
TIONIBVS MALEDICIMVS ET VINCVLO LIGAMVS
ANATHEMATIS ABBATĒ ET MONACHOS QCŪQ. COLVPNĀ
ET ECCLĀM LOCARE VĒ BENEFICIO DARE PSŪPSE-
RIT PETRVS DĪ GRĀ HVMLIS ABBAS HVIVS SCĪ
CENOBII CŪ FRIB SVIS FECIT ET CONFIRMAVIT ANN
DNĪ MIL̄ CXVIII INDIC XII.

was entered by a vaulted doorway from the street. The rooms inside had excellent cross-shaped vaults, and a stone staircase led to the upper floor. The exterior was adorned with antique fragments, rude half-columns of brick supported a patch-work frieze, in which are seen now marble rosettes, now arabesques or small reliefs of mythological figures. The bust of the builder (portraits were therefore again made in Rome) was originally placed in a niche outside near the entrance. The bust has disappeared, but the pompous couplet which accompanied it still remains. Another long inscription in Leonine verses mentions the builder and his family. Its bragging lines recall the speeches of the Romans in presence of Conrad and Frederick, but the melancholy sighs over the nothingness of all earthly greatness, in the style of epitaphs, are not without poetic grace. "Nicholas, to whom this house belongs, well knew that the glory of the world was vanity. He was induced to build this dwelling, less by vanity than by the desire to restore the splendour of ancient Rome. Within a beautiful house be mindful of the grave, and remember that thou hast not long to live in thy dwelling. Death travels hither on wings. No man's life is eternal. Our sojourn is brief and our course light as a feather. Whether Thou mayst

*Adsum Romani grandis honor populi
Indicat effigies qui me perfecit auctor.*

Theodor. Ameiden, *de Rom. Fasil.*, § 100, Mscr. in the *Bibl. Casanatens.*, n. 283, observed another couplet:—

*Vos qui transitis secus optima tecta Quirites
Hac pensate domo, quis Nicolaus homo.*

escape from the wind, lock thy door a hundredfold, and surround thyself with a thousand guards; death nevertheless sits beside thy pillow. Even if thou shuttest thyself in a castle that almost approaches the stars, death will only the more rapidly carry thee—its prey—away. The lofty house towers to the skies. From the foundation to the summit it was raised by the First among the First, the great Nicholas—in order to restore the glory of his fathers. Here stands the name of his father Crescentius and of his mother Theodora. This famous house was built for his beloved child, and given to David, by him who was his father."¹

The erection of this house has been attributed without grounds to one of the Crescentii, and even to the renowned Crescentius of Otto III.'s time. No member of the family to our knowledge bore the name of Nicholas. The Roman art which created so curious a building was as far removed from the

¹ *Non fuit ignarus cujus domus hec Nicolaus
Quod nil momenti sibi mundi gloria sentit.
Verum quod fecit hanc non tam vana coegit
Gloria quam Rome veterem renovare decorem.*

At the end:—

*Surgit in astra domus sublimis—culmina cujus
Primus de primis magnus Nicolaus ab iniis
Erexit Patrum decus ob renovare suorum.
Stat patris Crescens matrisque Theodora nomen.*

*Hoc culmen clarum caro pro pignere gessit.
Davidi tribuit qui pater exhibuit.*

The numerous enigmatic signs round the inscription are to be remarked. They have been explained in a ridiculous manner. The whole inscription is given by Nerini, p. 318, with others.

tower of Giotto at Florence as the *Chronicle* of Benedict of Soracte from the *Chronicle* of Villani. The date of this erection is uncertain; but, not to mention historical circumstances, the inscription breathes the spirit of the eleventh or twelfth century.¹ The style of this baronial palace seems the more barbarous from the contrast of two small well-preserved Roman temples, which stand in their simple beauty in its immediate neighbourhood. Although his structure when finished eclipsed all contemporary buildings in Rome, although it was in no wise devoid of an aspect of grandiose magnificence, and was undoubtedly picturesque, the architect must nevertheless have blushed did he compare his work with these temples. Of this building, furnished by the Roman Consul with an inscription which would have befitted a work of Ramses, only the smallest fragment, the ruined tower, now remains; and a stable and a hay-loft established within the lofty house of the First of the First form a satire on the vanity of the builder.

Did the palaces of the Pierleoni and the Frangipani still survive, we should have other buildings of the

¹ For the sake of brevity I do not refute the opinion of others, who place the date of this building, some too early, some too late. Those who decide in favour of the former, may appeal to the still more ancient custom, according to which fathers dedicated buildings to their sons. The Dux John of Geta built a tower in the ninth century, on which he inscribed: *hanc venerabilem inclitam domum etiamdiu turre dilecto filio meo Docibili Ypata donavi* (Federici, *Duchi di Geta*, p. 154). Giesebrecht has brought together some very good arguments concerning the Monzone (Schmidt's *Allg. Zeitschrift. f. Gesch.*, vii. 137).

same fantastic nature before us. Towers newly erected, or built of bricks on ancient monuments, arose in every part of Rome at this period. Not a single triumphal arch remained unsurmounted by a tower. The Frangipani alone had turned the Arches of Titus and Constantine and several Arches of Janus into fortresses. A short way from the Arch of Titus, at the foot of the Palatine and to the right of the Via Sacra, stood the solid central tower of their Palatine stronghold, the *Turris Cartularia*, which the *Mirabilia* assert to have been erected on the Temple of Æsculapius. A portion of the papal archives, called the *Cartularium juxta Palladium*, was kept in this tower in the eleventh century, and the tower was hence called *Turris Cartularia*.¹ The Circus Maximus also bristled with the towers of the Frangipani, an arch there giving the name de Arco to a branch of the family.

Building of tower.

The passion for building towers prevailed throughout the whole of Italy. Pisa had so many that Benjamin of Tudela ventured to estimate their number at ten thousand. The lofty tower of S. Mark's in Venice, the soaring towers of the Asinella and the

¹ The *Mirabilia* say *Ideo dicitur Chartularium, quia fuit ibi bibliotheca publica, de quibus XXVI. fuere in Urbe*. John VII. had built an *episcopium* there in the beginning of the eighth century. The *cartularium iuxta Palladium* is mentioned by Cencius. See, concerning this record-office, De Rossi, *d'un Tesoro di monete Anglo-Sassoni trovate nell' atrio della Vestali* (Lincei, *Notizie degli scavi*, Dec. 1883), and *La Bibl. della Sed. Apostolica*, Roma, 1884, p. 31 f. It is probable that the regesta of the popes preserved here perished in the attacks made on the tower, and in its destruction. De Rossi, *De Origine Scrinii et Bibl. S. ap.*, 1886, p. 98. The remains of the tower existed until 1829; and its foundations may still be seen.

leaning Garisenda at Bologna, and the beautiful leaning tower at Pisa, still remain as monuments of this period of municipal freedom and civic warfare. The towers erected in Rome were seldom so lavishly or so pretentiously decorated as that of Nicholas. They were, as a rule, only built for the time, were easily destroyed and easily restored. The city still shows partially preserved towers of the Middle Ages rising for the most part above fortified palaces, all built of burnt brick, square, undivided, and the same size from base to summit. If, according to the estimate of the *Mirabilia*, the city walls counted more than three hundred and sixty towers, and to these we add the innumerable campanili of the churches, the towers erected by the different families, and the numerous lofty ruins of antiquity, we, who see the city with its present magnificent cupolas, may imagine the sight it must have presented in mediæval times. This forest of towers, rising in dark and threatening menace, invested it with a defiant and warlike character, which must have impressed the mightiest of emperors.

In the twelfth century, however, the city itself presented a spectacle of chaotic ruin and disorder, beyond the capacity of the most vivid imagination to depict. After the Norman fire the hills became more and more deserted; southern vegetation speedily covered them with plants; ancient quarters of the city soon became fields, and the low-lying places degenerated into fever stricken marshes.¹ The

¹ In his *Ligurinus*, iv., v. 194 f. (written about 1186), Gunter gives the following description of Rome:—

population crowded together towards the Tiber and the Field of Mars, at the foot of the Capitol, which was now again free, and there in labyrinthine lanes, interrupted by rubbish heaps, by ruins of marble temples and by monuments, dwelt the rude Romans, few in number, but sufficiently strong to banish their popes into exile and to drive back the emperors from the ancient walls of Aurelian.

5. CHURCH ARCHITECTURE—ITS REVIVAL IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY—S. MARIA IN COSMEDIN—S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE—PAINTING IN ROME—BEGINNING OF SCULPTURE—THE FIRST COSMATI—EUGENIUS III. AND CELESTINE III. BEGIN TO BUILD THE VATICAN PALACE.

The quarrel for investitures ended, the city was able to rise slowly from her ruin. But the poverty of the people was deplorable, and the popes occupied themselves solely with the churches, the restoration of which was exacted by religion. While magnificent cathedrals, built in the latest style, arose in the greater number of Italian republics, Roman architecture was restricted to the restoration and decoration of the churches which already existed in such numbers.

That a stronger sense of the beautiful was

*Adde quod antiquis horrens inculta ruinis,
Parte sui maiore vacat, generisque nocentis
Plurima monstriferis animantia Roma cavernis
Occulit: hic virides colubri, nigrique bufones,
Hic sua fennati posuerunt lustra dracones.*

S. Maria in
Cosmedin.

awakened in the end of the twelfth century, is shown by the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin in the district of the Schola Greca. This little treasure-house of mediæval art was restored under Calixtus II. and was decorated by his chamberlain Alfano. It still preserves many evidences of the time, the works of naïve sculptors, who succeeded in excellently representing a period when, in the midst of iron barbarism, the muse made her first modest appearance with the attractive face of childhood. The beholder seems to inhale a breath of the time, as he looks on the variegated mosaic of the pavement, on the ambones, gracefully inlaid with marble, the jambs of the doors, the episcopal throne decorated with mosaic in the apse, and many other works belonging to the days of Alfano.¹

We have already noticed the buildings erected by Calixtus II. in S. Peter's and the Lateran, where the

¹ The church is rich in inscriptions. On the grave of Alfano, a work of this period, in the atrium stands the following:—

*Vir probus Alfano cernens quia cuncta perirent,
Hoc sibi sarcophagum statuit ne totus obiret.
Fabrica delectat pollet quia penitus extra
Sed monet interius quia post hec tristia restant.*

On the plinth of the high altar (a red granite bath): *A. D. MCXXIII. Ind. I. dedicatum fuit hoc Altare per manus D.D. Calixti Pape Secundi V. sui Pontif. A.M. Maio die VI. Alfano Camerarius plurima dona largiente.* In those days an arch of the Marcia still existed in *regione stole Grece*, over the ancient Porta Capena, which was called *arcus stillans*. Bull of Paschalis II. for Grotta Ferrata in 1115, printed by the Austrian School in Rome: *Studi e Docum. di Stor. e Diritto*, 1886, p. 108. See De Rossi, *Miscellan. di notiz. bibliogr. e critiche* (Bull. Com., 1886).

victories of the Church were represented in painting. The successors of Calixtus continued his work with some interruptions, Innocent II. more especially being conspicuous by his exertions. The true monument of his pontificate, however, is S. Maria in Trastevere. This ancient basilica, which still remains one of the most interesting in Rome, was rebuilt by Innocent on the death of Anaclete. The Pope was himself a Trasteverine by birth, and the towers of his family stood in the neighbourhood of the parish church. He was unable to complete the church, which was only finished by Innocent III. In spite of the many changes introduced in the course of time, it remains essentially a work of Innocent II. With its twenty-four columns of dark granite, which bear on their capitals so much of classic paganism, surmounted by the antique entablature, with its ancient pavement, its tabernacle resting on porphyry columns, and its mosaics, this basilica is still redolent of that spirit of early Christianity which was peculiar to the Middle Ages in Rome. Although restored, many of the mosaics of the apse and arch belong to this time. They are by no means entirely barbarous, but while adhering to ancient traditions show some freedom of movement. The figures of the Saviour and of the Virgin are especially worthy of a temple, and are not unduly heavy in style. The remaining pictures are of later date, but the important mosaic in the niche on the outside of the basilica (representing the Madonna and ten virgins) belongs to the middle of the twelfth century and shows that mosaic art had already received a fresh impulse. It is

Innocent
II. restores
S. Maria in
Trastevere.

possible that the artists who worked here may have come from Monte Casino.¹

Mosaic.

When Desiderius built the beautiful church of his monastery he undoubtedly brought materials, but not artists, from Rome. The *Chronicle of Monte Casino* expressly says that he summoned mosaic workers from Byzantium and then established a school of mosaic in his monastery, in order that the art might not perish in Italy, where it had not been practised for five hundred years.² The survival of mosaic art in Italy, however, contradicts the exaggeration of the chronicler; but it is probable that the school of art of Monte Casino exercised great influence in Rome, and that in the time of the intimate relations with the kings of Sicily, who built such splendid cathedrals, artists from Palermo may have worked for the popes. Nevertheless neither the art of fresco painting nor that of mosaic had entirely vanished from Rome. Within the church of the Quattro Coronati (rebuilt by Paschalis II.) are found some remarkable frescoes in the chapel of S. Silvestro in Porticu, a chapel which belonged to the confraternity of the sculptors and stone-masons. A portion of the lower church of S. Clemente — a basilica undoubtedly restored by Paschalis II., who had formerly been its cardinal — was excavated in 1862, when some frescoes were

Mural
paintings.

¹ The mosaic in the *niche* is explained by Matthew, c. 25, 1-13. Unfortunately it has been greatly restored. Schnaase (*Geschichte d. bild. Künste*, iv. 2) also praises the mosaics, especially those in the *apex*.

² *Chron. Casin.*, c. 29; a well-known passage.

discovered which must belong to the eleventh or twelfth century.¹

Painting, in the service of the Church, appears to have invested its votaries with opulence and position, since we find a painter called Bentivenga among the senators in 1148. As early as the middle of the twelfth century, artist families were to be found, whose works in marble had brought them fame not only in the city itself but outside it. The four sons of an artist named Paul—John, Peter, Angelo, and Sasso—constructed the tabernacle in S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, and several other similar works.² At the same time there flourished in the city another artist's family, at whose head was the Roman Ranucius, and who fashioned the mosaic pictures in S. Maria di Castello in Corneto.³ About the year 1180 appeared

The School
of the
Cosmati.

¹ A fresco, representing saints, bears the inscription: EGO BENO DE RAPIZA CV MARIA UXORE MEA PRO AMORE DEI ET BEATI CLEMENTIS PGRFC. Prior Mullooly, who conducted the excavations, holds that the painting belongs to the era of the Catacombs, but his opinion is refuted by the inscription. The Lombard name Rapizo (Radpert) is frequently found in the Register of Farfa of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; a Rapizo was Comes of Todi in the time of Gregory VII. Concerning this remarkable excavation, see J. Mullooly, *Notice of the ancient paintings—of S. Clement in Rome*, Rome, 1866.

² The inscription on the tabernacle in S. Lorenzo: *Johs. Petrus Angelus Et Sasso Filii Pauli Marmorarii Hujus Operis Magistri Fuerunt*. The same brothers made the Ciborium in S. Marco in 1154 (*Forcella, Iscrip.*, iv. n. 818); the eldest brother John, aided by Angelo and Sasso, wrought the Ciborium in S. Croce in Gerusalemme. De Rossi, "Del così detto opus alexandrinum e dei marmorarii romani" . . . *Bull. d. Arch. crist.*, 1875, p. 110 f.

³ These were Peter and Nicholas, the sons of Ranucius; then John and Guitto, about 1168, and *Joannes Guittenis civ. rom.*, A. 1209,

the so-called Cosmati, a celebrated family of artists, who reached their prime in the twelfth century.¹ Such were the beginnings of the new species of sculpture, which originated in the so-called Opus Alexandrinum, that is to say, the mosaic-like decoration for churches in which pieces of coloured marble were employed. These were architectural sculptures, and were the work of stone-masons. The sculpture of this age was restricted to tombs, pulpits or ambones, marble candelabra for the Easter candles, and tabernacles. Of these artistic objects Rome can still show some ancient specimens, as, for instance, in S. Clemente, in S. Maria in Cosmedin, in S. Marco, in S. Croce in Gerusalemme, and in S. Lorenzo fuori le mura. The ancient equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius still stood on the Lateran piazza where it had been seen by Benjamin of Tudela; Clement III. had a fountain erected in front of it, and this gave rise to the mistaken opinion that he had caused an equestrian statue to be cast and erected in the Lateran. How could it have been possible for the art of the twelfth century to create a bronze statue in Rome?²

Thus, in the midst of the tumult of war, and in the first dawn of art, artists sat in their lonely workshops, who proudly called themselves marble workers (*mar-morarii*) and Roman masters (*doctissimi magistri Romani*), and who devoted their pious labours to the

who all seem to have belonged to the Ranucci family. De Rossi, *ut supra*.

¹ See vol. v., at the end.

² This is the erroneous statement of Ricobald (Muratori, ix. 178).

churches which offered them employment. Their skill was handed down from father to son and grandson, and survived in schools. After the middle of the twelfth century the work of these Roman masters was in constantly increasing demand, since every pope in turn now restored or adorned churches.

Lucius II. rebuilt S. Croce. Eugenius III. restored the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore and provided it with a portico. Popes as well as cardinals began to erect palaces. Anastasius IV. built a palace beside the Pantheon, and Eugenius III. a papal residence at Segni. Eugenius also enlarged the Vatican, where he probably erected a new building, which was continued by Celestine III., these two popes being regarded as the founders of the Vatican palace.¹

Clement III. and Celestine III. also added to the Lateran. Bronze doors were placed here by the latter pope in 1196.² To Clement III. are also probably due the cloisters of S. Lorenzo, the oldest of the kind in Rome, and a species of building which already seems to point to the succeeding century, when the art of building beautiful cloisters, with rows of little pillars adorned with mosaics, was understood.³

¹ Card. Aragon., p. 439 of *Eugenius III.* : *Hic fecit unum palatium apud S. Petrum, et Signia alterum.* Platina : *Vita Celestini III.*

² *Incaru. dom. a. MCXCVI., pont. vero d. Celestini P. III. a. VI., Cencio card. S. Lucie camerario ministrante, hoc fact. est.* Inscription preserved. *Iter Italicum* of Pflugk-Hartung, ii. (1884), 510.

³ Platina, *Vita Clement. III.* : *claustrum S. Laurentii extramuros edificavit, et Laterani aedes non mediocri impensa restituit: templumque vermiculato opere ac musivo exornavit.* Celestine III.

An active zeal for art thus became evident in Rome at the end of the twelfth century, a zeal which was in harmony with the general impulse throughout Italy. In Rome, however, art never attained a national splendour. It sought, on the contrary, the virgin soil of cities where it was not curbed by the tyrannical laws of ecclesiastical tradition, and the year 1200 gave birth to Niccolo Pisano, the marvellous genius of a new epoch of culture which was destined to attain development in the thirteenth century.

consecrated S. Giovanni & *Porta Latina*, a gate which was also called *Libera*, in 1196, S. Eustachio and S. Lorenzo in Lucina, as the ancient inscription on the latter church still tells us. The portico of S. Giovanni and Paolo on the Coelian belongs to the time of Adrian IV. It is curious that no buildings are mentioned during the long reign of Alexander III.

ERRATA.

- On page 55 Twelfth line from top *for* Benedict II. *read* Benedict IX.
" " 237 Fifth line of chapter *for* 1064 *read* 1084.
" " 627 Second line from top *for* Clement *read* Celestine.

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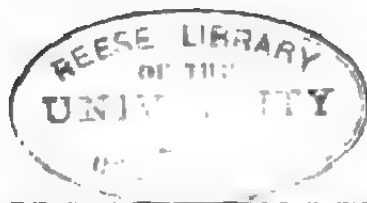
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